

fifth estate

Spring 2012

TIME FOR REVOLUTION!

Rants, Raves, Essays, & Articles

Piercing, Tatting
and Anarchy

iPhone: Is It What
You Need or What
You Want?

Happy 200th,
Luddites



LETTERS Our readers respond

Send letters to fe@fifthestate.org or Fifth Estate, POB 201016, Ferndale MI 48220
All formats accepted including typescript & handwritten; letters may be edited for length

Creative Commons glitch

As a fellow traveler/indie film maker, I have had the chance to learn about copy-righting from posting and also utilizing other people's videos. [See Fall 2011 FE, "Copyright or Wrong?"]

It is my understanding, unless intentionally filed for, every creative work of art is given a default copyright status upon its creation, a set of provisions which entail certain restrictions on re-use, and if ever brought to court, a judge would handle the case according to laws based on those default presumptions.

By filing for the Creative Commons license, you are stripping those provisions and restrictions away from your work, should you select those options on their website.

Andrew Stewart

[tinyurl.com/AndrewStewartLinked In](http://tinyurl.com/AndrewStewartLinkedIn)

Prisoner email

Regarding prison inmate mail in Letters, Spring 2011 FE, I'd like to point out that any prisoner who uses or has his friends and family use Corrlinks, JayPay, or any other internet service, is facilitating the monitoring of our communications. It is far easier for them to scan email than snail mail. Only a moron would fail to see that the prison administrators' plan is to eliminate snail mail entirely.

As a Michigan Department of Corrections (MDOC) prisoner, who found it difficult enough to stay in touch with family and friends at the old rate, I was disappointed but not surprised, when the MDOC recently entered into a five-year contract with Public Communications Services that has nearly doubled our phone rates.

The excessive cost limits prisoner's contacts by placing an unfair burden on prisoners' families and friends who are overwhelmingly the working poor, if the not the unemployed, foreclosed on, poor. It is an attempt to get blood out of a stone, an attempt that is already failing as indicated by the precipitous drop in

prisoner phone calls.

Incredibly, the MDOC initially claimed the new charge was necessary to pay for equipment to detect unauthorized cell phones, claiming that at least 20 were found in Michigan prisons last year.

There are only two ways unauthorized cell phones get into a prison. Either during visits, getting by the search of visitors and the strip search of prisoners, or the MDOC staff bring them in. Every cell phone bust I've hear of in these prisons has had a guard or other staff member resigning to avoid getting fired.

Rand W. Gould #C-187131
Thumb Correctional Facility
3225 John Conley Drive
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Filipino zine & distro

We are an anarchist press and distro based in the Philippines called Mindsetbreaker Distro. We look forward to have regular contacts abroad especially people who might be interested in supporting our newly started project.

Mindsetbreaker Distro is maintained by a tiny number of people publishing and circulating anarchist literature at the local level. Also existing projects and campaigns being carried out by members such as infoshops, info events and other autonomous activities.

We provide counter-informational radical ideas and alternative sources. We also want to reach anarchist groups abroad to

build solidarity. We recently printed our publication, *Gasera Journal*.

Mindsetbreaker Press and Distro operates in the local anarchist infoshop that has almost run out of money to pay for rent.

We work and put most of our time at the infoshop by keeping it as a base for regular meetings and radical activities.

We want to save the infoshop, publish more literature, and raise money to pay the rent of the infoshop, 3,000 pesos a month. If you are interested in our magazine via mail order, we need your support.

Gasera Journal is a compilation of anarchist writings covering history, politics and anarchism in the Philippines, autonomous struggles, the black bloc, transnational community building, and more.

There are two articles in Filipino and the rest are in English.

Solidarity,

Mindsetbreaker Press and Distro
mindsetbreakerdistro.blogspot.com

FIVE WAYS TO HELP THE FIFTH ESTATE

- 1. Subscribe** Subscribers are a publication's life blood. If you bought this at a news stand, consider subscribing and buying one for a friend or a library.
- 2. Donate** Postal and printing costs continue to rise making financial stability an increasing challenge to publications which refuse commercial advertising. Donations also allow us to continue sending free subscriptions to prisoners and GLs.
- 3. Distribute the FE** Sell or give away current or back issues. Get stores in your area to sell the magazine. Use them for tabling. Take them to events and demos. Bulk back issues are available for the cost of postage. Write us at fe@fifthestate.org for info.
- 4. Hold a fundraiser for the FE** A house party or an event not only provides revenue for the magazine, but gets people together that share similar ideas.
- 5. Become an FE Sustainer** Sustainers pledge a certain amount each issue or yearly above the subscription fee to assure our continuing publishing, and receive each issue by First Class mail.

Fifth Estate

Spring 2012
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The Fifth Estate is a cooperative, not-for-profit, anti-authoritarian project published since 1965 by a volunteer collective of friends and comrades. Edited in Detroit. No ads. No copyright.

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**SORRY FOR
THE INCONVENIENCE
WE ARE TRYING
TO CHANGE THE WORLD**

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About this issue: **REVOLUTION**

Just when the corporate bosses thought their world-racket was secure (give or take a few economic crises), the old mole of revolution has suddenly poked her furry head above ground and has put the question of power and wealth on everyone's lips. Hence, this issue could not have appeared at a better time.

Although, we decided upon a Revolution themed issue a few months before the Occupy movement began, we weren't prescient. In fact, we were discouraged about whether there would be fight back even on Capital's terrain to stop the austerity attacks on workers.

The Fifth Estate began almost 50 years ago during the last great challenge to capitalist rule and played an important role, as did hundreds of other such publications, of bringing news and ideas to the revolutionary movement.

We're ready for another such engagement. Please read the succeeding essays and see if you think they apply to what's ahead.

—photo: Walker Lane. Detroit, February 2011

YOU DIDN'T MISS AN ISSUE

This issue is designated Spring 2012. You have not missed an issue as there was no Winter edition. These designations have mostly to do with the pricing code on the cover and newsstand sales. For librarians, archivists, and readers trying to keep track of what we've published, please check the number on page three, #386 for this one, and you can follow the sequence.

As usual, you would not be holding this publication if it wasn't for generous donations, subscribers, and distro points. Plus, we thank our writers, artists and photographers who donated their talents to make this an attractive issue.

Note to subscribers using PayPal: their policy is to automatically renew your subscription yearly. Our publishing schedule does not provide four issues in a calendar year, so, you are being re-subscribed earlier than required. This is not our policy.



The Luddites' 200th Anniversary **Happy Birthday!** **KING LUDD**

By **Bernard Marszalek**

In the waning moonlight, three bands of sullen men with ash-blackened faces stealthed through the woods and dales of central Yorkshire, one of the first counties in England to industrialize.

Quietly, the three groups, each traveling from different villages, picked themselves through paths they traversed since childhood and assembled in a clearing near their target. Though they passed outlying cottages, no dogs betrayed them.

The villagers all round brought in their animals that night. A quick count to assure themselves that their numbers, over a hundred, could do the job quickly and thoroughly and they were off again, now as a solid, intense phalanx.

A few more yards down from the meadow to the river and across and they were in front of a red brick structure—their target: a recently built textile mill with power looms.

The bolt securing the gate delivered the entrance with one well-directed blow of an Enoch, the enormous sledgehammer the half-dozen men each carried, and which was named after the blacksmith who fashioned them. A few more blows to the front entrance and they were in.

Each knew his task and they quickly dispersed throughout

the three floors. The huge and heavy hammers did the most effective destruction, but the pikes, the axes and the smaller hammers contributed to the devastation of the mill.

The men could hardly contain their glee at their work, but they remained silent as they tasked methodically and efficiently. The wood and metal machines shattered under their blows with surprisingly little sound. No one lived nearby, but even if the splintering of wood and cracking of metal was heard that night by the sleepless, they knew enough to turn over and forget they heard anything.

The mill owner lived on a splendid, wooded estate over a mile away. He would hear nothing at all until morning and then only bad news. In minutes, for that's all it took, the proud craftsmen left the factory in shambles. Quickly they retreated back to their homes to be in bed for morning awakenings by the hapless authorities looking for the villains.

These machine breakers, all textile weavers, were the 19th century followers of King Ludd, their mythic leader. 2011 marked their two hundredth anniversary.

THE LUDDITES FOUGHT THE IMPOSITION of new technology. The new weaving machines, by producing shoddy goods, were an affront to their craft standards. More importantly, the



simple tasks of machine tending required little skill. As a result of the new technology, families and villages collapsed into a spiral of degradation.

The depiction above is informed fiction; the written record of the Luddites' nocturnal adventures is basically non-existent. The only published account of their destructive exploits by a participant comes from an aged villager as he remembered them as a boy fifty years previously.

Charlotte Bronte, in her novel *Shirley*, fictionalized their most catastrophic defeat, when Ludd's redressers were ambushed at a mill and two wreckers were killed outright and a half dozen sustained gunshot wounds.

The Luddites burst from the Northern English meadows of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Nottinghamshire like wild flowers in the spring of 1811, but unlike blossoms, their span lasted 18 intense months. These men, and only men took part in the machine destruction, were the anonymous actors of history that historians E. P. Thompson and Howard Zinn in the past, and Peter Linebaugh and David Roediger today, celebrate.

Before wrecking machines, the weavers and other tradespeople sought redress of their grievances from the king and parliament, but their victimization was ignored and so they chose a more effective course – direct action. In the three county area, thousands of machines were wrecked and the march of capitalist progress was temporarily stalled, but in the end at great sacrifice to the Luddites.

SIX MONTHS AFTER THE WEAVERS STARTED their campaign 12,000 British troops were garrisoned in the three counties, more troops than battled Napoleon in Spain at that time, to assure that factory-based production could proceed without interruption.

The military occupation of the villages took its toll with daily military patrols to harass and curtail assemblies. However the grassroots nature of this struggle, where craftsmen knew each other and whole communities backed their actions by maintaining complete silence, prevented infiltration and arrests.

The central government in London threw its legislative artillery against the populace by passing the Frame Breaking Act and the Malicious Damage Act of 1812 decreeing ma-

chine breaking a capital offense and followed with a campaign of yearlong ambushes, torture and judicial killings to defeat the weavers.

Seventeen men were executed after an 1813 trial in York, many more jailed, and hundreds were transported to Australia. The bloody repression clamped a lid on the movement in northern England. However, a few years later, following the example of the weavers, agricultural workers in the south of England began smashing recently introduced threshers. Along with the wrecking, the agriculturalists adopted the Luddite mockery of power by creating their own mythic hero, Captain Swing.

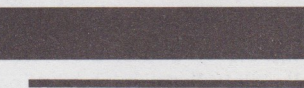
Given this rebellious history it is regrettable that the Luddite heritage has been incorrectly interpreted. The Luddites were not reactionaries naively opposed to technology in their supposed flight from history and progress.

It comes as no surprise that this spurious interpretation arose as a reaction to the technological imperative that dominated the US by the middle of the 20th century: automation took off in the 1950s, displacing thousands of workers; engineering sequestered the popular imagination in the 1960s with the race against the Soviets for space exploration; and in the 1970s, petrochemical-based research seized Wall Street investors like a passion.

The dark side of this technological enthusiasm – unemployment, pollution, and misdirected federal funds – coupled with the rising fear of nuclear war, laid a heavy pall shrouding all contemplation of a better future. The ensuing universal foreboding generated, among some, hostility to all technology.

In this caldron of anxiety, the Luddites were resurrected from historic obscurity to serve as emblematic rebels against technology by writers such as Kirkpatrick Sale in his 1995, *Reb-*

And, like the Luddites, we are becoming aware that we face a momentous transformation on every level of existence.



els Against the Future. Neo-Luddism arose in a shutter of fear for a technological future that some mistakenly imagined had exact historic precedents.

However, the weavers did not take up their Enochs to blindly attack technology. Some machines, innocent of the charge of capitalist banditry, were spared and others were adapted for use in cottages and small workshops.

Their hammers, tools themselves, were raised not simply to smash the new world taking shape around them, but also to re-fashion it. Technology *per se* was not their target. Their target was the intention behind its introduction. In contrast to the greed of the capitalists, the weavers attempted to reassert their "commonality," as they termed their social solidarity and coherence, as the shaping force for a new society that would incorporate mechanical advances as tools to their benefit.

THE SKILLED TEXTILE WORKERS HAD no illusions about reclaiming the tempo of their grandparents' lives – a fabled Golden Age of small-scale capitalism. Through the centuries, cottage industrial life was no idyll. The previous era may have been more humane (even though the whole family worked, they worked together), but only a few master craftsmen had any real control over production. The weavers and other textile workers had little leverage, since they had to depend on contracts with merchants. Work was still drudgery in the cottages.

So what was the trajectory of their insurrection, so devastatingly cut short? What greater relevancy, beyond symbolism, do they hold for us?

At first sight it would seem questionable that they hold any lessons for us. After all, technology dictates our life choices in a way the Luddites would have considered a nightmare. We, like the weavers two hundred years ago, face an epic struggle to transform technology to serve our needs.

To delve a little deeper, there can be little argument that, unlike many of us, the Luddites had a more lavish palette of significant social experiences to draw upon. The rich oral continuity that defines traditional societies was theirs. Pre-industrial village life sustained communal practices, rituals, and festivals brought song, dance and follies of all kinds.

It is this social complex that the workers carried with them as their heritage, what they referred to as their commonality, that served as a foundation for their resistance to attacks from the capitalists.

What appeared on their horizon was a beast not clearly perceived, but sensed as both forceful and evil. Their old compacts with the king, that protected their ancestors in a limited way from capitalist expansion of machine production for over a century, were dust and no new compacts would be considered. They were at the mercy of the rising bourgeoisie, no longer limited by traditional restrictions on their quest for wealth and power, and who, consequently, speedily disabused themselves of a moral center.

Doesn't this sound familiar? Like the Luddites, we, too, are on the precipice of an ominous future of technology gone out-of-control, in a precise meaning of the phrase. Two examples, suffice: synthetic biology, from bio-fuels to GMO-foods, and nano-engineering.

And, like the Luddites, we are becoming aware that we face a momentous transformation on every level of existence. For us, the eco-catastrophe we face obviously is greater, but we can't discount that village life – the weavers' environment – was threatened from one side by industrial agricultural and on the other by industrial manufacturing.

When facing our prospects for overcoming the economic, environmental and political challenges we are at a disadvantage compared to the Luddites. They lacked our sophisticated technical resources, but they did possess deep bonds of trust, forged over generations of communalism, while we stand atomized, alienated and closed down, fearful of every encounter.

Their defeat, probably foredoomed, nonetheless was a great historic loss. If in one time-warping leap they had adapted the new technology to reclaim the old village life on a new basis of greater freedom and leisure and thereby created a truly human society, today we would not be enclosed by the logic of technology as it expedites the capitalist addiction to endless growth. Instead, we could be living a life based on social and individual fulfillment.

There is some faint hope for us moderns since it is true that catastrophes tend to break old habits of isolation and spontaneously evoke solidarity, as if out of the ether. However, waiting on heavenly disasters is no solace. Hopefully, the pre-revolutionary uprisings in North Africa and Europe, and the Occupy movement in the U.S. may temper this bleak appraisal. The "Politics of the Squares" – the instant mobilization of previously apolitical masses, the quickly organized support systems to maintain continuity in public squares and spaces, the meticulous concern for unhindered speech and more – is historically unprecedented on this world scale.

These events should assure us that to fight for a better life by reviving trust from its long slumber, releases deep reservoirs of desire to reclaim and secure our common humanity.

Bernard Marszalek, economic justice activist with JASecon.org in the San Francisco Bay area, has recently edited a selection of subversive literary works by Paul Lafargue, *The Right to be Lazy* (AK Press/Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co.; akpress.org; or charleshkerr.net). Bernard blogs at righttobelazy.com/blog.



Fedele Spadafora, whose art appears on pages 5, 24, and 42 of this issue, is an American painter whose figurative work deals with contemporary urban themes. His work is influenced by sources as diverse as the Renaissance, popular culture, and his deep ethnic roots.

He currently lives in New York City where he continues his painting. His current work is based on the human figure and draws its inspiration from the art of the great masters.

His web site is fedelespadafora.com/

Developing Subversive Style & Substance

Is body modification
personal vanity or does it
open pathways to a
subversive style that
challenges modernity?



by Lisiunia (Lisa) A. Romanienko

Revolution Begins at Home

There has been an unnecessarily divisive debate distinguishing what the late Murray Bookchin designated as *lifestyle anarchy* from that of traditional ideological anarchy.

Yet under conditions of modernity, anarchist lifestyle centering upon the body and the intimate private sphere is often a necessary precursor to the development of more public articulation of systemic anarchist revolutionary sentiments.

Given that there are so many regulatory processes that serve to *civilize* the body in society, it was only a matter of time before it emerged, *uncivilized*, as the site of ideological, socioeconomic, and political struggle. Any revolutionary project of emancipation, therefore, would have to begin in the bedroom with the liberation of the modern body through the process of usurping control of what sociologist Bryan Turner calls the *regimes of regulation*.

The contemporary process of bodily liberation increasingly associated with anarchy frequently involves the use of body piercing, tattooing, and other forms of modification to advance the development of an emerging *subversive style*. As a decivilizing mechanism of the transgressive, body modification is becoming more than just a marker of adherence to anarchist lifestyles.

It is emerging as nothing less than a unique symbol of anti-industrial primitivist communication that is formalizing the contemporary struggle for freedom, autonomy, and self-determination through identification with, and empathetic nostalgic alignment of, premodern organic societies of the past.

According to British historian Stephan Brooke:

"Indeed, the first step on the road to utopia began with the skin. [Dora] Russell believed that a radically reformed public world would be built on the emancipated

body. A public utopia would arise from the private utopias between men and women. In this way, political desire was not only equated with sexual desire, but flowed from that desire. [T]he body [is] thus not marginal to politics, but rather its centre."

For those with anarchist sensibilities, modernity poses significant challenges to the project to liberate the emancipated body from these regimes of regulation. As part of an effort to reduce obstacles to human liberation rooted in industrialization, the nostalgic return to organic society typically begins with the struggle for individual freedom.

According to philosopher Krishnamurti:

"Freedom – to be free – is becoming more and more difficult. As society becomes more complex and as industrialization becomes wider and deeper and more organized, there is less and less freedom for man. [O]utwardly one becomes a slave to society, to the pressure of society; in this pressure of organized existence there is no tribal existence, but industrialized, organized, centralized control. When there is more 'progress' there is less and less freedom."

As advanced industrialized nations provided the technology, the capital, and the leisure time for the servile masses to acquire unprecedented levels of materialist accumulation, the yearning for freedom and emancipation from materiality has, paradoxically, never been greater.

Many avenues are explored in the quest to fill the void brought on by conspicuous consumption, all of them leaving their seekers more shallow and empty than they were before.

My book on body piercing, *Body Piercing and Identity*, documents the sensual, spiritual, and political postmaterial means by which individuals are willing to deploy the body in

service to their struggles to transcend an increasingly artificial, threatening, adversarial world.

In various approaches deployed by genuine explorers of anarchist authenticity, the desire for human emancipation begins with the reassertion of human agency to combat the suffocating passivity and dependency brought on by a vicious combination of unregulated neoliberal market economics and the co-opted state.

Homeless, demoralized, and denigrated inhabitants of the First World, through their own victimization by the same technological forces of imperialism and colonization that created centuries of suffering in the Third World, have finally become cognizant of the genuine depth of deprivation brought on by coercive capitalism and the collusive state. These processes are now, however, in more complex multinational forms causing the Third Worldization of disposable people of the industrialized West.

Although centuries too late, the knowledge and experiences linking complex struggles between the First and Third Worlds have finally resulted in an unprecedented level of empathetic global understanding among the oppressed worldwide needed to generate innovative strategies necessary to combat these vehement forms of exploitation.

Constructing the cohesiveness and rigidity through communities of resistance that will be necessary to combat these forms of civilized oppression will take nothing less than a global revolution of postmaterial, dependency-dismantling, egalitarian, interpersonal, intercommunity, interspecies, and intercultural resistance around the planet. But how?

Looking back in history when egalitarian relations among living things were paramount and control over one human being was rarely attempted by another, one is nostalgically returned to simple agrarian life in rural villages.

A return to organic simplicity with all its communal decision-making is now one of the most powerful driving forces behind landless peoples movements, squatting, urban homesteading, and other ecological anarchist and non-anarchist alternative globalization resistance efforts worldwide.

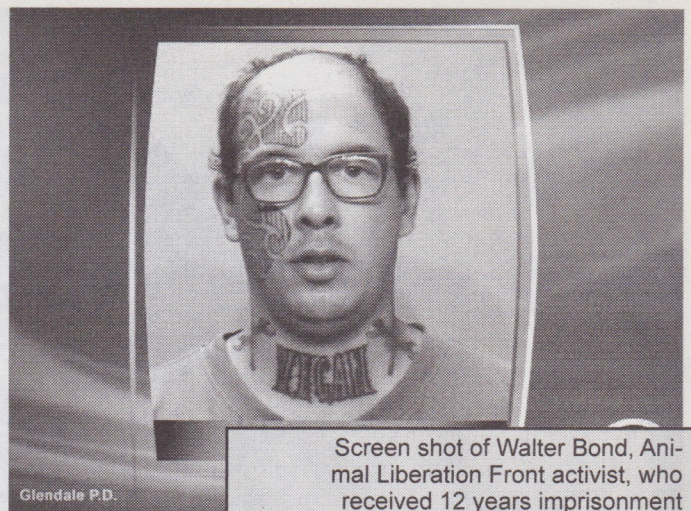
In the Third World, there are many examples of successful resistance against centuries of imperializing consciousness, where, until the recent proliferation and imposition of subsidized guns and amphetamines, strong communities have been able to successfully combat hegemonic attempts to oppress and colonize indigenous people in less developed contexts.

Inspired by the efficacy of these resistance efforts, body modified anarchists and other activists in advanced industrialized societies have now begun to formally and informally articulate, through embodied neo-tribal anti-modern expressions, their *dreams of underdevelopment*.

This has led to the global resurgence of *village anarchy* as the viable alternative to the status quo.

According to theorist Martin Green:

"Of the two main kinds [of anarchy], one was usually associated with...theory and with terrorism at the level of practice. It was essentially violent, and engaged often in assassination – anarchist and terrorist were often used as interchangeable terms.



Screen shot of Walter Bond, Animal Liberation Front activist, who received 12 years imprisonment in October for arson to several establishments which harmed animals. Web site for his case is supportwalter.org. Tattoo on his neck says "Vegan."

"The other kind is usually associated with Kropotkin and Tolstoy, and in the next generation with Ghandi.

"The theory of this kind of ethical anarchism, sometimes called village anarchism, recommends agriculture, small communities, distrust of state, and peace. Within ethical or village anarchism, one can distinguish again two main tendencies. Some anarchists invested their energies in peace, others in love, in erotic freedom. Pacifism was to be associated with Tolstoy, and he was one of those who most powerfully inspired [an] anarchism [which] was positively anti-erotic.

"On the whole, the erotic branch of ethical anarchism become the stronger of the two among intellectuals after Tolstoy dies in 1910. The political kinds of anarchism – obviously the violent but also the nonviolent forms thereof – lost their power with that constituency."

As this brief summary of the popular evolution of anarchy indicates, we are now at a point where poignant visions of *ethical village anarchism* prevails, where peaceful and subversively sensual postmaterial, self-sufficient living is desired in lieu of urban, fragmented, mechanistic, dependency-breeding violence or other lonely competitive hostilities.

If we have the courage, therefore, to indulge ourselves a bit further to move the body modified anarchist activist eco-utopian project from one of complacency resting on mere anarchist *theory*, to one of construction working toward ethical or village anarchist *praxis*; we find that the worldwide alternative globalization movement is already in the process of making this dream a reality.

From landless people in Latin America, to land titling in the Middle East, there is a reversal of these civilized forms of oppression, with slow but significant resistance through the reinvigoration of organic forms of agrarian living, which may afford the individual fewer material comforts but much more esoteric abundance in terms of freedom, autonomy, self-determination, and savage eroticism (see Malinowski's 1937, *The Sexual Life of*

Savages).

As James Bowen and Jonathon Purkis observe in their *Changing Anarchism: Anarchist Theory and Practice in a Global Age*:

"The resurgence of interest in anarchism, which has been steadily percolating... over the past few decades, has now begun to form significant waves on a much wider scale, linking First and Third world struggles. This has resulted in the formation of a diversity of political alliances coalescing around the politics of globalisation. What unites them is a fundamental questioning of the viability of existing mechanisms of decision-making, control, accountability and justice throughout the world. Whilst it is clear that the diverse concerns of these countermovements are not reducible to single political programs or monolithic analytical tools, the theoretical concepts most apparently to the fore appear to be those associated with anarchism. When we talk about global anarchism, we mean that it is impossible for anarchist theory and practice to be formulated in ways that do not acknowledge its relationship with global flows of people, ideas, technology, economics, and crucially, resistance. Indeed, it is significant that anarchism can no longer be said to be the preserve of white Westerners. If anything, an era of global anarchism calls for a repositioning of the individual within these global flows and the need to respond to complex ethical and strategic problems which involves new formulations of... anarchism."

They further argue that our universal need for emancipation from technological, economic, and state subjugation is a strange and unprecedented process in the evolution of historic social movements, in that it unifies diverse dissidents being subjugated around the world by the same documentable, oppressive, but *reversible* forces promulgated by lies, dependency, and material delusions associated with modernity.

Writer Karen Goaman, editor at *Anarchist Studies*, suggests,

"The importance of peasant and agrarian ways of life to anarchism is sometimes overlooked. The critique of modern Western civilization... intersects with the strands often referred to as 'primitivist', 'anti-civilization', or 'anti-technological'. Agrarian peasant movements of the global South also form a significant component of the anti-globalisation movement, which recognizes the importance of helping defend traditional and indigenous ways of life from the onslaught of globalisation. The reality is that the worship of money, technology, consumer goods, modernization and development are not creating happiness. The domination of nature and of humans has left a gaping void in people that no amount of spectacular glitter, speed and technology can fill."

Through embodied resistance upon the skin, political opposition is continuous, ubiquitous, and enduring. Anarchist activists perpetually infuse movement societies with ostentatious displays of body modification and other aesthetic but defiant signifiers of creative resistance, displayed either on the street in more formal oppositional endeavors in private.

It was only a matter of time before public oppositional resistance and mass arousal through protest would eventually in-

filtrate the bedroom for a widespread democratization of sexual privilege. Piercing expedites these experiences and connects individuals to those with similarly like-minded egalitarian relationship and community ideologies.

This contemporary resistance involves a variety of stylistic and substantive forms of organic sabotage using modifications upon the body that, like colonization, is facilitated by media techniques that make dependency-breeding occupation increasingly problematic.

This signals not only a shift from reassessing the cultural value of primitive practices and advantageous customs of the underdeveloped and savagely erotic lifestyles around the world, but also indicates a wholesale resurgence and desire to adhere to these organic communal ways of life which can only be more superior to the unsustainable and devastating consequences of our own.

Lisiunia Romanienko is an American born sociologist of Polish and Ukrainian ancestry, who currently lives in Wroclaw, was dismissed from doctoral studies and blacklisted from American academia. For these unethical and illegal actions, the members of her dissertation committee were subsequently blacklisted from the largest professional sociological association in the U.S.

In light of these unexpected events, she was compelled to move to Eastern Europe to pursue her scholarly interest in sensuality and international body politics. This essay contains material expressly written for the *Fifth Estate* as well as excerpts from a much longer chapter in her book, which was distinguished by two scholarly awards.

Her articles can be downloaded free of charge at home.netcom.com/~lroman. Her book can be purchased at us.macmillan.com/bodypiercingandidentityconstruction/LisiuniaARomanienko. Use code P356ED for a 20% discount. Proceeds from her book will be used to litigate against her university for wrongful termination.

This is an excerpted chapter from Lisiunia Romanienko, *Body Piercing and Identity*, 2011 NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

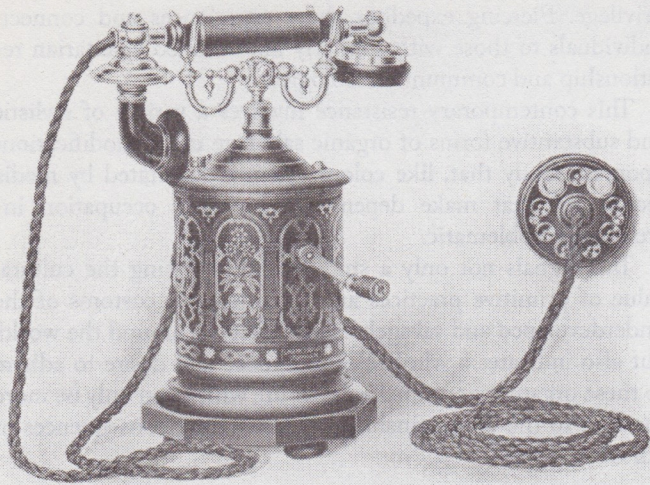
CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS FOR NEXT ISSUE

FIFTH ESTATE Summer 2012, Vol. 47, #2, #386
Deadline: April 1 — Publication date: May 5

For the past several years, each edition of the *Fifth Estate* has had a specific theme. Maybe it's the excitement of the era which has just opened up, but we have decided not to have a particular theme for our Summer edition, and simply let the imagination of writers get as wild as the times demand.

Everything seems open and possible; where it all will lead is still in formation. Your ideas for suggested news articles, essays, and art are welcome.

Please submit manuscripts for short pieces and proposals for longer essays, along with graphics and photographs to: fe@fifthestate.org or Fifth Estate, POB 201016, Ferndale, MI 48220



1911

BACK TO Temporal Autonomous Zones

by Peter Lamborn Wilson

Reversion to 1911 would constitute a perfect *first step* for a 21st century neo-Luddite movement. Living in 1911 means using technology and culture only up to that point and no further, or as little as possible.

For example, you can have a player-piano and phonograph, but no radio or TV; an ice-box, but not a refrigerator; an ocean liner, but not an aeroplane, electric fans, but no air conditioner.

You *dress* 1911. You can have a telephone. You can even have a car, ideally an electric. Someday, someone will make replicas of the 1911 "Grandma Duck" Detroit Electric, one of the most beautiful cars ever designed.

1911 was a great year for Modernism, Expressionism, Symbolism, Rosicrucianism, anarcho-syndicalism and Individualism, vegetarian *lebensreform*, and Nietzschean cosmic consciousness, but it was also the last great Edwardian year, the twilight of British Empire and last decadent gilded moments of Manchu, Austro-Hungarian, German, Russian, French and Ottoman monarchy; last "old days" before the hideous 20th century really got going.

THE NEXT STEP BACKWARD WOULD BE TO join the Amish and other Old Order Anabaptists in 1907—no telephones, no electricity at all, and no internal combustion. With this move, the battle would virtually be won. The next generation would be able to make the transition *to no metal*—the neo-neolithic. Arcadian pastoralism.

After that a dizzying sliding spiral back into—illiteracy. Oral/aural culture. Classless tribal anarchy. Democratic shamanism. The Gift. This would be the ultimate Luddite goal. But the first step will be back to 1911.

Those who long to live in 1911 choose that year—really any year from 1890 to 1914 would be equally OK—just because it's safely in the middle of that long lingering last decade of the long 19th century, which was also the first heroic decade of true modern radicalism, e. g. the Wandervogel, Stirnerite anarchism, the IWW and Jim Larkin, Ascona, Sex Radicals, and Nudism, etc. And, still far removed from the future of total war and totalitarianism to come—a time of utopian revolutionary hope.

ALSO, IT'S THE AGE OF DECADENCE; the final year of the Manchu Dynasty; opium ten cents a bottle at any country store; the Paris of J. K. Huysmans. Gaslight. The last gasp of true agrarianism in the USA; the age of Populism, the Grange, Farmers Alliance—the last *rural* decade.

But there's another reason we choose 1911 (or thereabouts) for our little Golden Age. It has to do with technology. In 1911, almost all the actual *conveniences* of modern technology already existed: the car, the electric bulb, the phonograph.

Now, we Luddites do not approve of cars or any of these inventions, which all *subtract* from the quanta of Imagination available to individuals and to the Social. But, we have to admit—they're convenient.

In their primitive forms they're almost likeable. The only real convenience invented since then—the electric refrigerator—can be replaced by an Amish-built propane refrigerator, or, we could re-invent the ice-box. We hope some day to learn to sing again, but till then, we can accept a few hand-cranked shellac records (but no radio or TV). Computers are not in any way a part of a revived 1911, however. It's time to wake up and smell the rot of technopathology.

The telephone easily corrodes social presence and reduces selves to disembodied “voices of the Unseen,” as the Arabs called this invention. But again the primitive version, with its party lines and snoopy local operators, had a social aspect now completely leached out of the medium. If we must be thus haunted let it be via one of these elegant sinister objects—large enough to be a real murder weapon.

Recorded music realizes a dream of pure magic, but at the same time the end and even the death of music itself. As the Muzak company understood, recorded music eventually loses its *presence*—and in its state of *absence* or deprivation it becomes a potent subliminal form of anxiety, often alleviated by a shopping spree or food binge—perfect Capitalist behavior.

Thus music becomes *background*; in expensive restaurants one is expected to listen (but not pay attention) to music appropriate to a honkytonk whorehouse: rock’n’roll, which should be a highly presential dionysiac experience becomes aural vanilla for jaded yuppies. Youth buys its latent rebellion from the world of commercial greed and adult condescension called the Music Industry.

WITH HEADPHONES AND COMPUTERS, everyone composes a soundtrack for their own stupid boring movie, their life as student or wage slave and consumer—music as anodyne for the constant *immiseration* (as the Situationists used to say) of Too-Late Kapitalismo.

Finally, recording replaces our own voices with dumbness. We let stars sing for us. We let machines come between us and the divine musician within us. Music attains Spectral status. It haunts us with its own non-presence reduced to residual noise pollution.

There is next to no amateur communal music anymore (recording killed it), no “music bees,” so to speak. Music now lacks all *sociality* except the ersatz of mass consumption at a concert or music festival, but at least it remains possible to hear *live* music sometimes. Usually, now, when I hear any decent live music, I burst into tears. I *give it my attention*—a process that produces a kind of high or rush.

If we have to hear a recording, let it be a 1911-style shellac disc or even wax cylinder, cranked up by hand, not electricity; a magic music box to baffle the dog with its master’s voice; a cabinet of aural marvels. If we have to be haunted by music’s non-presence (every recording is the tombstone of a live performance) let it be by one of those graceful ear-shaped or seashell-shaped machines, a Surrealist’s delight or Spirit Trumpet for a charlatanesque medium.

The years between the death of Nietzsche and Queen Victoria in 1900 and 1914, constitute a dawn of Modernism that never happened into day. Instead it was smashed to nihil by the one long war (1914–1989) of the ghastly 20th century. The *liberté libre* of trends like Symbolism, Expressionism, anarchism/socialism, *lebensreform*, Cosmicism, etc., turned into the cynicism of Dada, the fascism of Futurism, and so on. Hope seemed dead.

Even reading and writing is contaminated with Civilization’s technopathologies. Oral/aural culture would constitute the Luddite ideal. But as an isolated individual and lifelong print



Grandma Duck’s [as in Donald] Detroit Electric. This is a 1916 model, but we are certain the author will forgive us for slipping a little further into what he calls “the dreadful 20th century.”

We Luddites
do not approve of cars
or any of these
inventions.

addict, I can’t give up books, that necessary poison, like certain drugs. Life in 1911 requires books just as it might ideally include cheap and legal laudanum or tincture of Indian hemp.

Charles Fourier praised the Pigeon Post. It seemed quite modern in 1830, “utterly modern,” as Rimbaud would say. In 1911, we’re allowed telegraph and even telephone, but our hearts still go into writing and receiving letters—handwritten, private, mysteriously brought to your very door by an unseen hand for only pennies per message, the money having been transformed into beautiful stamps.

NONE OF THESE PLEASURES ARE afforded by electromagnetic CommTech, which eliminates everything (including privacy) except text and image.

Imagine *perfumed* letters sealed with red wax and heraldic imagery; letters like Prince Genji used to write, or Proust, who could send little blue notes by *pneumatic* post anywhere in Paris. Think of mail-order degrees in Rosicrucianism. Yes, the post—under the sign of Hermes—is sheer magic.

Full play of Imagination becomes possible only *without* modern technology, because it has become the heartless *operation* of Capital, which hates all forms of *sharing*. Let’s work for a secular Anabaptism, bold enough finally to refuse everything back to the steam engine—at least.

Whereupon we *may* resume human life.

The Empire Exits Iraq

Walker Lane



When President Barack Obama announced on October 21 that the nine year U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq was ending, it didn't even make first spot on many news reports. Another imperial slaughter had ground to an end, with many liberal publications, such as *The Nation*, declaring it an "ignominious end to a shameful debacle."

To be sure, there were no victory celebrations, no teary-eyed citizens at confetti-speckled parades waving little American flags as soldiers marched smartly past. No one has even thought of revering the last 33,000 battle troops coming out of Iraq as part of another Depression era WWII-type "Greatest Generation."

There's a temptation to invoke T.S. Eliot's over-used but apt phrase, "Not with a bang but a whimper," to describe the final hours of another conflict in the West's thousand-year war against the East. Although the end came without much ado in the U.S. media, the bang has been felt in Iraq for the preceding 20 years.

The total of what the U.S. architects of death have wrought

in their wars is never accurately tabulated. Hundreds of thousands of civilians incinerated in Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki; perhaps 2.5 million during the Korean War; upwards of 3 million in Indochina.

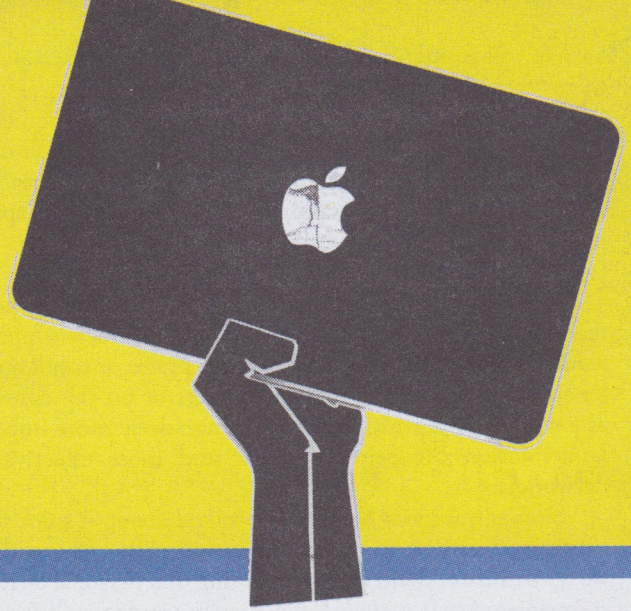
These are all estimates. No one in the West counts the Asian dead, yet we are informed in exquisite detail how many perished among those who inflicted the mass death: 58,151 U.S. military deaths in Vietnam; 4,484 in Iraq. Each of the fallen is considered worthy of an engraving on a wall or a burial with honors. Those they killed wind up in mass graves, unnamed.

WAR IS THE HEALTH OF THE STATE

The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are easily and accurately portrayed as wars for oil and for the larger purpose of fueling the military/industrial complex, the engine of the U.S. economy. At the economic level, it doesn't matter whether the U.S. continues to lose wars as it did in Vietnam, fight to somewhat of a draw in Iraq, or win minor ones such as the attacks on Grenada

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Biting the Apple (or not)



BY J.E. HAMILTON

It seems apt now, a few months after Steve Jobs passed away, to turn a skeptical eye to the energetic display of grief that followed the news of his demise on Oct. 5.

For a few weeks thereafter, one could hardly turn on the radio, open the newspaper, or cue up the blogs on one's iPhone without encountering another paean to the creative genius of Apple's creator, another toast to the brave new world incubated by his products. Quibbles about the advisability of transferring our social and cultural lives to screens were shrugged off as misanthropy, or worse, Luddism.

But we should take advantage of the renewed attention to Apple's place in society to talk about what this corporation *means* for us. More specifically, it seems a good time to turn some serious critical thought towards the rapid preponderance of Macintosh products in many peoples' daily lives (especially in those urban and intellectual centers where most of such critical thought is generated). Also, what this might mean for our behaviors, our bodies, and — dare we say it? — our politics. Such analysis, of course, has been sorely lacking.

We can start by evaluating what seems to be the most typical approach to an Apple critique. Situationist Guy Debord warned in his *Society of the Spectacle* that a confluence of labor-time, spatial dislocation, and exposure to mass media was alienating individuals from their lives and the people around them. The "spectacle" worked to actively reify — turn into a *thing* — as much of one's existence as it could, with the end goal of making us all a bunch of brain-dead producer-consumers.

Unlike other Marxian eschatologies of the mid-twentieth century, Debord's analyses proved pretty accurate, and the marketing-saturated, brand-defined, money-measured world in which we find ourselves today is just an extreme version of the early 1960s developed West that Debord found so repugnant.

Using Debord's paradigm, we can see Apple as a kind of standard-bearer of technocracy's progress. The iPhone is the handheld spectacle: real human interaction replaced by text-filled

blue and green bubbles, space presented as a 3.5 inch roving map, entertainment and release largely monetized and prepackaged.

The more time one spends with Apple's products, the more effectively one is swallowed into a world governed by virtuality and commerce rather than, say, immediacy and reciprocity. The prevalence of these products means that the texture of experience is increasingly manufactured in Apple laboratories in Cupertino, California.

The ease with which users are drawn into such a seemingly unhealthy dynamic is at least partly explained by the seduction of Jobs' creations. One *wants* to pick up an iPhone and fiddle around with it; the OS X operating system is hard *not* to get lost in.

John Zerzan, the most vociferous expounder of the anti-technology critique of the spectacle (Debord himself had great hopes for the emancipatory possibilities of computers), has perceptively noted the Biblical overtones of the name of Jobs' company in his lecture "Against Technology."

We bite the Apple; we can't resist it. The MacBook, iPhone, and iPad are a narcissist's dream toy. It's as though the pond of Greek myth could play me my favorite songs, give me directions to my favorite restaurants, provide me representations of my favorite friends. The screen becomes me. I become the screen.

What's overlooked in this approach, though, is the intensely social nature of Apple's technology. Conviviality is the distinguishing feature of the brand, the cultural marker that motivates those Mac vs. PC ads or the seemingly universal impression that Apple is somehow *cooler* than its rivals.

People use its products not just to organize and entertain themselves when alone but also to chat with other people and to share things — and sharing, in the carefully crafted architecture of the Apple social world, often leads to buying. Less cynically, the convenience of mobile Internet connections, webcams, and location-based software can help people to overcome traditional barriers to social organizing and agitation.

Macintosh products, along with others, have played at least

**iPhones, iPads,
& MacBooks are a
narcissist's dream,
but can they also be
an organizer's tool?**

a small role in helping the Arab Spring and the Occupy movements move briskly along.

We find ourselves stuck, then, with a contradiction between two pretty convincing positions: Apple's products cut us off from authentic experience and trap us in a false reality of auto-gratification, and Apple's products open up new frontiers of experience in which we can share and socialize with others.

Where do we turn for an answer?

First, we have to decide our criteria for judging personal technology. For whose benefit are these products supposed to work? The individual? Society? Do we praise or condemn them based on their effects on isolated users or on the community as a whole? Is self-expression or camaraderie more important? Is involution the price of larger and more effective social networks?

Similar questions have been bandied about in some form or another since the beginnings of political philosophy, and before we try to answer them it's worth noting that personal technology companies, Apple included, don't really *care* (if you'll forgive assigning emotive agency to them) about the distinction between person and collective.

In fact, part of the strategy behind making an iPhone an essential part of one's daily routine is precisely the blurring of the line between *me* and *all of you*. This blurring is accomplished not least by the physical identity of the two terms: on a 3.5 inch screen, you and I collide; our words, pictures, and GPS markings overlap and intermingle. Individual expression becomes communal expression and vice versa, with opinion and assent marked by stars next to song titles or numbers next to an app's download statistics.

Everything is at once private ("My Location," "My Photos") and public ("Ted is on the Boston Common," "Ted has shared a photo"). Space, speech, and property, perhaps the three most reliable indicators of the line between the individual and society, are silent.

The slipperiness of Apple's impact on individuality and society — and the implications that has for a critique of the company and what that critique might base itself on — is perhaps best explained by the fact that we're talking about a product (read: commodity). You hold it in your hand, you store it with your information, you receive calls on it: it's yours. The steep price of this little gadget represents a significant investment of your own labor-time and the right to call it your property.

But wait: that large Apple logo on the back, on the loading screen, in the apps, suggest a different ownership, the claim of another master. Proprietary software (which you don't own and can't control) is required to run your product. If you disobey — as many first-generation iPhone owners did by switching

their service to non-approved carriers — the corporation sends a killer app and shuts down "your" gadget.

It's almost as if the metal case, the hardware, the power charger were indisputably yours, but everything that they are capable of — the whole reason you bought the thing in the first place — are beyond your domain.

And, that other stuff is not just in the control of Apple, Inc.: in order to fully take advantage of your MacBook or iPhone or whatever, you have to engage, immerse yourself in an online social network or text friends or mark your location in stores — in other words, hand your device over to other members of society. The value of any individual Apple product is thus almost wholly determined by factors outside the owner's control, and what we had thought was the ultimate tool of self-absorption turns out to be useless unless given over to others.

Again, the individual and society are blurred beyond distinction.

So, we still don't know how to judge personal technologies like Apple's. It's unclear whether we can even pose the question of how they benefit or disrupt individual and societal dynamics. One thing we can fruitfully assess, though, is Apple's cultural standing. It's important to keep in mind that the company is much more than a purveyor of toys.

It is a veritable cultural institution, both a brand and a symbol that derives its identity largely, but not entirely, from what it makes. In working towards a critique of the corporation, then, we have to confront not just the use of its products but also the widespread perception of its allure.

What was most surprising about the reaction to Jobs' passing was not its size — this is a man, after all, who had a rather large effect on many millions of people's behavior — but the way in which Jobs was hailed as some type of creative icon, an almost mystical Silicon Valley guru.

Since the late nineties, Apple has occupied a rapidly growing niche of "other" technologies whose smartness and sleek design set them apart from the staid, suit-like conformity of IBM or Microsoft. By buying and using alternative products, one apparently became alternative oneself.

Indeed, Apple is one of the most powerful brand markers that people use to establish their tenuous, amorphous identities as consumers. Cultural cachet is instantly established by pulling out a MacBook in a crowded café. What's more, once one is inside Apple's products the opportunities for brand-identification proliferate, with iTunes libraries and app downloads saying a lot about who you "are."

Of course, Jobs' company is not after cultural standing or coolness. Those are merely means, among many others, to a single end: profit. By inverting this

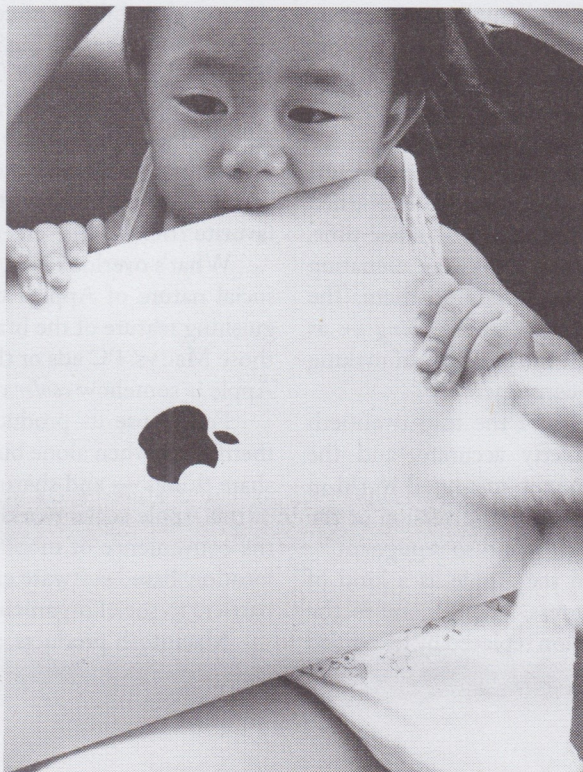


PHOTO: KENLEEWITES

this means-end equation and selling consumers on its authenticity, Apple is able to both dominate the market and keep its prices high. More important for our discussion, though, is that this branding game serves as a gigantic blind for the pressing question: how desirable — for an individual or for society — is the widespread use of Apple products?

Distracted by Apple's encroachment of cultural space and our reaction to that movement (if Bob Dylan is in an iTunes commercial, then it must be okay for me to use it), we don't think to question its validity. Even more effective as a means of bracketing the issue of their ethics is the drummed-up rivalry between products made by Apple, IBM, or Sony.

If we take sides, we don't take time to ask why we're standing on the battlefield in the first place.

This is the monologue of the spectacle that Debord warned about. The essential choice — between having laptops or smartphones and not having laptops or smartphones — was never really presented, only the choice between which type and how fast. Even more interesting questions, like which parts of personal device culture are good and which are bad, whether we can take some parts of Apple's software and leave others, or how to interact with cutting-edge technology as something other than a consumer, are similarly expelled. Apple wants these questions to get lost; we oblige by swallowing what's given to us and begging for more.

The common response to such calls for corporate accountability — or at least for corporate questioning — is that one doesn't have to buy the company's products if one doesn't want them. Fair enough, but Apple is not just some merchant innocently peddling his wares on the side of the road. It has a tight grip on the daily interactions and habits of a large chunk of our population, has control over where much of digital technology is headed in the next few years, and has seriously damaged the physical and mental health of many of its half-million Chinese workers. It at least seems fair to question its influence on our behavior, our perception, and our bodies.

The upshot of all this is that we need to move our discussion into new terrain.

The nearly unanimous head-bowing following Jobs' passing was depressing enough in its uncriticality. Similarly lackluster, though, would be a debate that pitted an image of evil, alienating technology against liberating, joyful gadgetry.

We can start by asking why someone would think purchasing Apple products makes them a more interesting person, or how to use an iPhone without assuming the identity of an iPhone user.

We can ask if location software can be turned to better uses than tracking your shopping patterns, or how videochatting could be used as a tool for alleviating prisoners' isolation.

What about the technology's potential for education? The possibilities for political liberation?

In order to ask these questions, it's important to keep in mind that the sole manner of weighing in on the discussion need not be the decision to buy or not to buy. Apple's impact on our individual lives and on our society is far more than economic. Recognition of this necessitates confronting Apple, within our movements and in our own consciousness, at every level where it presents itself. ■

Imagine Global Revolution

by Ron Sakolsky

What I love about
the occupy movement
is that it makes
no demands.

Is
a space
in which possibility
expands.
An opening
for imaginations
to upset
the applecart
of acquiescent
relations.

Imagine
clearing the slate
opening the gate
rejecting
the horrors
of industrial civ
un-Occupying
Turtle Island
and starting to live.

Imagine
not simply
eliminating corporate
greed,
but creating
a world
with no corporations
to heed,
a planet
with no
capitalist system
to feed.

Imagine
not just
governmental reform,
but an end
to government

with freedom
the norm.
Not a left-wing
Tea Party
of patriotic citizen
dissenters,
but the demise
of the nation state
and an end
to renters.

Imagine
not merely
Officer Eco-Friendly
on a bike,
but No Cops
to dislike
no police (to) force,
none at all,
as a matter
of course.

Imagine
occupying
all the institutions
of the capitalist state
without
official permission
from the keepers
of the gate.
Occupying everything
that you now hate,
and transforming
the world
before it's too late.

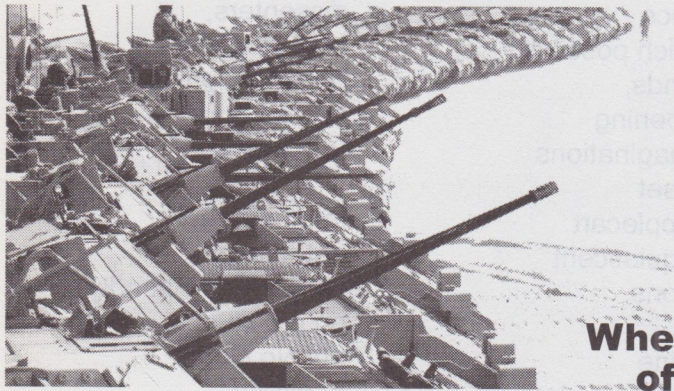
Tear up
the bloody
Constitution.
Kick anarchy
and start rockin'
global revolution!

The Empire Exits Iraq

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and Panama, if anyone remembers the latter two. (The citizens of Panama City, however, recall well the 1989 invasion to arrest the country's formerly U.S.-backed dictator, Manuel Noriega, which left 4,000 civilians dead in the slum surrounding the presidential palace).

Radical writer Randolph Bourne famously and accurately wrote in 1914 that, "War is the health of the state." Since the first quarter of 1942, war has also been the health of the economy; military Keynesianism now pumps a trillion taxpayer dollars a year through a massive wealth transfer from private hands through the government to what they called munitions makers in Bourne's time.



It is certainly a cause for outrage that almost every war in American history has been based on either contrived rationales (quickly: why did the U.S. enter World War I?), or outright lies (Spanish-American War, Vietnam, Iraq), World War II being the one time a war was fought by the U.S. against a country worse than itself or for reasons less malign.

But, there is another overarching socio/historical explanation besides economic ones that is rooted in the mass psychology of a pathogenic culture stemming from its European origins and gives the U.S. a primary definition as a permanent war state.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, Europe, primarily through Spain, Portugal, England, Holland, and France, extended an economic system based on exploitation and conquest and a culture of cruelty, religious fanaticism, and environmental destruction to what they designated at the New World. Actually, it was an Old World the mad European navigators stumbled upon that suffered their invasion, occupation, looting, and genocide.

It was an ancient world encompassing the Old Ways that had sustained people for millennia and was broken by the armored invaders, although mega-states in the Americas, the Aztecs and the Incas, for instance, exhibited the same characteristics as the nations across the waters.

Europe had destroyed its land, impoverishing not only the common people, but the rulers as well. It was a continent wracked with endless warfare (the latter often celebrated in Western literature). Their solution was fortuitously finding another continent to wreck by exporting a moribund system with every disastrous facet intact even though the original explorers and conquistadors met a face of humanity that could have

solved their problems differently by adapting their ways.

Instead, "They will make excellent servants," wrote Columbus in his diary the first night after being discovered by Arawak people on Hispaniola. The rest is a well known terrible history. Europe survived through a scourge of mass death and looting. Its economy and culture became the world-dominant system.

By the late nineteenth century, the descendants of those first adventurers had done damage to the North American continent identical to that which Europe had suffered. Although conquest and purchase had already greatly expanded U.S. national territory, the country's internal contradictions were bringing it close to collapse with deeper economic depressions, mass labor unrest, great environmental despoliation, and wide-spread poverty and misery among the population.

Men such as Indiana U.S. Senator Albert J. Beveridge, who said, in the late 1890s, "We must have markets abroad or revolution at home," knew it was time for a nation on an isolated continent to move beyond its geography as had his forebears. This, by the way, was one the reasons for the U.S. entry into World War I, although the Spanish-American war, and incursions into Latin America preceded the Great War. Presaging Cold War liberals, Sen. Beveridge was a supporter of all of the Progressive Era reforms.

When we hear U.S. Presidents or Secretaries of State talk of "American interests" in a region far from its own metropole, it

Where next for the Death Star? Apparently off to Uganda and Australia.

comes from an understanding that U.S. wealth, shared to differing degrees by sectors of the domestic population, depends on access to world-wide markets and trade, particularly oil. The socially pathological culture of militarism and delusional sense of "America Exceptionalism" are necessary to create a mass acceptance of its horrific dead end.

Horrific since battle totals and the grotesque phrase, collateral damage, need a rationalization for such slaughter. All the wars mentioned above were based on lies, many now blithely recognized as such but ones which possessed overwhelming social and political power at the time of the conflict.

Almost without exception, people now know there were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, that Bush lied, as did Cheney (who delights that he's called Darth Vader by his detractors), as did Rumsfeld, Condoleezza Rice, and the pathetic Colin Powell, butcher of the first Gulf War.

Everyone also knows that if there were a modicum of justice extracted from the powerful (there isn't and there won't be under present power relationships), all of those who lied us into the Iraq war would be in the docket of the International Criminal Court along with the likes of Slobodan Milosevic and the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide. Instead, Bush and his gang of war criminals write self-serving memoirs where they brazenly admit to suborning torture, become even more enriched, and are touted as elder statesmen doing book tours and the lecture circuit for \$50,000 a pop.

Henry Kissinger, a man who has so many pending international warrants for his arrests because of crimes against Vietnam and Chile that he rarely travels outside of the U.S., and has

his writing featured on the front page of *The New York Times* book review section.

The 20-year war against Saddam Hussein, first, by Bush Sr.'s invasion, the Clinton era sanctions, and finally, Junior's Shock and Awe, has been catastrophic. Massive amounts of Iraqi blood was spilled; much of it directly by the huge U.S. war machine, with additional amounts due to the internecine clashes set off by the destruction and collapse of that society. The Iraqi civilian casualty toll is staggering; iraqbodycount.org, which lists only *documented* deaths, pegs the figures at 113,127. The British medical journal, *The Lancet*, gives a much larger figure of 654,965, counting only through 2006, calculating from household surveys and extrapolating "excess deaths."

As always, battle deaths and injuries of the American troops who caused the Iraqi casualties are only a fraction of what they inflicted. Much is made of returning U.S. troops suffering PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder). This is a serious and predictable consequence of war, and given what it has wreaked on American troops, one can only imagine what Iraqis must be suffering as result of the war inflicted upon them. The Iraqi Red Crescent Organization has estimated that since Bush's "surge" in 2007, the number of people who have fled their homes and became refugees topped 1.1 million.

The U.S. has spent \$800 billion dollars directly on the Iraq war, with long-range costs spiraling the figure upwards to \$2-3 trillion. Billions were siphoned off to war contractors like Cheney's Halliburton firm, with billions more simply unaccounted for through blatant and widespread corruption. At times, skids filled with \$20 bills were unloaded from C-17 transport planes and passed out like leaflets by U.S. troops attempting to buy off local resistance.

Hundreds of U.S. bases in Iraq now lie deserted, but what isn't going home is the U.S. embassy compound in Baghdad, the largest in the world, occupying one and a half square miles in area, and costing three quarters of a billion dollars to build. Al-

though U.S. troops have left, American security personnel will swell to 16,000, not exactly a complete withdrawal.

Just as the Tehran embassy functioned prior to the overthrow of Iran's Shah in 1979, the Iraq embassy will be a forward base for U.S. military and commercial ventures. Similarly, as the Islamic Revolutionaries in Iran designated the seized American embassy in their capital, it will act as a "nest of spies" looking eastward to Russia and China, something not lost on either nation.

Where next for the Death Star? Apparently off to Uganda, and to Australia, where President Obama announced in November that a couple of thousand U.S. Marines will be stationed there indefinitely as a hedge against Chinese influence in the region. The fact that Beijing sees this as a threatening provocation apparently matters little to those manning the Empire's central command at the Pentagon.

It is imperial interest added to cultural psychosis that drives the U.S. relentlessly towards war, but this time it's messing with the big boys. Steadily advancing into the sphere of influence of a nuclear armed superpower is reminiscent of the Cold War and fraught with the same chances of annihilation that existed a generation ago.

David Swanson's excellent web site, warisacrime.org, reported on the anniversary of the Japanese attack in Hawaii 70 years ago on a similar military/political situation:

"When President Franklin Roosevelt visited Pearl Harbor on July 28, 1934, seven years before the Japanese attack, the Japanese military expressed apprehension. General Kunishiga Tanaka wrote in the *Japan Advertiser*, objecting to the build-up of the American fleet and the creation of additional bases in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands: 'Such insolent behavior makes us most suspicious. It makes us think a major disturbance is purposely being encouraged in the Pacific. This is greatly regretted.'"

Such madness is afoot once again. Their preparation for total war necessitates our total opposition. **FE**





South African revolutionary, Eddie Daniels, speaks at Occupy Detroit, Oct. 23. —photo Walker Lane

David Rovics singing at a Marie Mason benefit, Oct. 27 in Detroit.

Marie's Long Sentence Compared to that of an Anti-apartheid Revolutionary Successful Detroit Benefit Concert for Marie Mason

Movement troubadour David Rovics performed a benefit concert in Detroit, October 27, for singer/songwriter/environmental activist, Marie Mason, the Green Scare prisoner serving the longest sentence for eco-sabotage.

Generous attendees at the benefit contributed over \$1,000 to support Marie's prison and legal needs.

The event was held at the Cass Corridor area's historic First Unitarian-Universalist Church, the scene of numerous radical and progressive events over the decades, and where Marie attended many of those events, including civil disobedience training in the 1980s.

The IWW Detroit branch's Wobbly Kitchen provided their usual array of delicious food and desserts. Rovics wrote a song, bearing her name, especially for Marie and performed it for the enthusiastic audience.

David has offered his time and talent to help raise funds for Marie in any city he visits. If you'd like to organize a benefit for Marie, check his tour schedule at davidrovics.com. This is a great way to bring the community together in support and solidarity in addition to raising much needed funds.

Mason and her then partner Frank Ambrose set fire to a GMO research laboratory at Michigan State University in East Lansing in 1999. No one was in-

jured. Ambrose turned snitch and Mason was arrested in 2008.

The presiding judge ignored what the prosecutor recommended in exchange for her plea agreement (in which she admitted guilt but did not name any names), applied the Terrorist Enhancement Act, and sentenced Mason to 22 years in federal prison in 2009.

It is difficult to understand the harsh sentence Mason received when we often hear about others who committed arson, destroyed more property, and injured or even killed people, but received lesser sentences. Not that we think any of them should get more time; on the contrary, Marie's sentence should be reduced in accordance with those sentences or less.

In a recent Detroit case, for example, an arsonist received a 15-year sentence for a crime in which seven people (all firefighters) were injured including one who became paralyzed.

We were struck even more by the harshness of Marie's sentence after listening to Eddie Daniels share his story with a group of us at the Occupy Detroit encampment site on October 23. Daniels was a South African anti-apartheid revolutionary who was arrested in 1964 for sabotage as part of the African Resistance Movement (ARM).

Daniels and his comrades stole explosives and blew up several government

facilities between 1961 and 1964, without causing any injuries. He refused to cooperate or turn state's witness despite several offers. The judge sentenced Daniels to 15 years at Robben Island where he shared quarters with Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners from the African National Congress.

Apartheid South Africa was one of the most notoriously repressive governments in history. Thousands ended up dead or in jail for many years for attempting to overthrow it. Yet, Marie's sentence is seven years longer than was Daniels'.

Daniels wrote a book about his experiences, *There and Back, Robben Island, 1964-1979*. We told the 83-year-old Daniels about Marie's case and he was very sympathetic. He also urged the attentive group to stick to their ideals and not give up their struggle.

The space in the 95-year-old church building used for the Rovics performance was used without fee thanks to the generosity of the East Michigan Environmental Action Council (EMEAC). The Detroit-based group assumed responsibility for operation of the church complex on August 15 after the UU board formally donated the facilities to EMEAC.

EMEAC's plans for the complex include creation of a Cass Community commons comprised of social justice organizations, and to environmentally retrofit the facilities. The Unitarian congregation will retain use of the worship and meeting facilities.

David Rovics continues his busy schedule touring the U.S. and Europe with stops in this country at over 20 Occupy sites performing free concerts. His song, "Occupy Wall Street (We're Gonna Stay Right Here)," has gone viral and is available at soundclick.com/davidrovics.

His two new full-length recordings are *Big Red Sessions*, featuring full-band arrangements of "Song for Bradley Manning," "I'm A Better Anarchist Than You," and many more, and *Ten New Songs*, including, "Osama Bin Laden is Dead," "No Frackin' Way," and "Tax the Rich."

Order David's CDs by clicking the big blue "donate" button at davidrovics.com or by sending a check (or well-concealed cash) to PO Box 86805, Portland, OR 97286. Most of David's music is available for free download at his site, but his efforts need support, so please consider ordering his CDs.

Not Helpless Victims Women in Prison

by Victoria Law

In July 2011, women at California's Valley State Prison launched a hunger strike in solidarity with prisoners on a four-week hunger strike at Pelican Bay State Prison and also to protest their own Secure Housing Unit (an extreme solitary confinement unit).

Upon hearing about the hunger strike, a woman incarcerated in another state, and who had been in solitary confinement for 942 days, launched a one-day hunger strike, stating, "I'll refuse my trays tomorrow in solidarity with long-term solitary confinement hostages everywhere and for the girls held in the outer buildings that don't have air-conditioning or enough electrical sockets to plug in their personal fans and are stuck in rooms with 4" x 12" windows that provide no air. It's a heat index of 110 degrees today."

Women prisoners have always resisted. In 1835, New York State opened its first prison for women. The environment was so terrible that the women rioted, attacking and tearing the clothes off the prison matron and physically chasing away other officials with wooden food tubs. When imprisoned in male penitentiaries and work camps, women often refused to obey the rules. When states began housing them in separate facilities in the 1800s, they protested substandard conditions, sometimes violently, as the New York prison officials learned.

Women's actions, however, are often overlooked by prisoner rights activists and advocates, leading to both the mistaken belief that women do not organize and to a lack of outside attention and support for their actions.

THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN FEDERAL AND STATE PRISONS has increased twenty-fold in the last 40 years, from 5,600 in 1970 to 114,979 by the mid-2009. What caused this explosion in women's incarceration?

From President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1965 "War on Crime," to numerous state "Three Strikes" laws mandating life in prison without the possibility of parole

for a third conviction, to Ronald Reagan launching the current "War on Drugs," expanding both policing and imprisonment, prison populations began to swell. (It was not until 1985 that crack began to rapidly spread through and destroy poor black urban neighborhoods.)

In 1986, Congress passed the Anti-Drug Abuse Act with mandatory minimum sentences for drug offenses. The legislation led to a huge expansion in the number of people incarcerated for drug offenses, from 16,340 in 1986 to 58,260 by the end of 1994.

The act also allowed police and prosecutors to arrest and charge spouses and partners with conspiracy if they took a phone message or signed for a package. Lacking knowledge about drug transactions, spouses and partners are unable to plea-bargain by trading information for a lesser charge. Between 1986 and 1996, the number of women in federal prisons for drug law violations increased 421 percent.

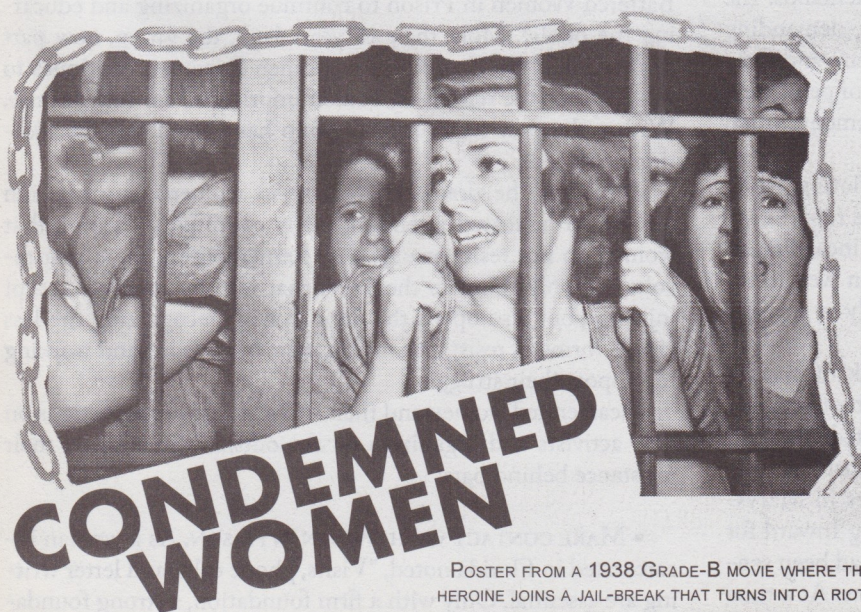
WOMEN OF COLOR ARE disproportionately impacted by these policies. The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics show that one of every 100 Black women, one of every 404 Latinas, and one of every 1,099 white women are in prison. Racial profiling, not an increase in crime among people of color, accounts for much of this overrepresentation.

Policing policies disproportionately target inner-city African-American and Latino neighborhoods. Within the past decade, many police departments have increased the use of stop-and-frisk tactics, in which officers stop, question, and pat down those they perceive as acting suspiciously, often people of color.

In addition, alternatives to incarceration are less likely to be offered to people of color. A California study showed that two-thirds of drug treatment slots went to whites despite the fact that 70 percent of people with drug sentences were African-American.

Class is also a strong indicator of which women end up in prison. Only 40 percent of all incarcerated women were employed full time before incarceration. Of those, most held low-paying jobs. A study of women under supervision (prison, jail, parole, or probation) found that two-thirds had never held a job that paid more than \$6.50 per hour. Approximately 30 percent had been receiving public assistance before being arrested.

The 1996 so-called welfare reform disqualified those with drug felonies and proba-



POSTER FROM A 1938 GRADE-B MOVIE WHERE THE HEROINE JOINS A JAIL-BREAK THAT TURNS INTO A RIOT.

tion or parole violations. Between 1996 and 1999, more than 96,000 women were subject to the welfare ban because of past drug convictions.

The use of prisons to control women is not new. As late as the early twentieth century, women were often arrested and imprisoned for defying gender norms: being drunk, engaging in pre- and extra-marital sex, contracting a venereal disease, or keeping "bad company." In contrast, men were neither arrested nor penalized for the same behaviors.

Women were often given longer, if not indeterminate, sentences than men convicted of the same offense. In 1913, Pennsylvania passed the Muncy Act, requiring that all women convicted of an offense punishable by more than one year be given an indeterminate sentence.

Under this Act, women were also not eligible for parole as early as men. In 1966, the state's Superior Court ruled that the Act's sentencing disparity did not violate women's constitutional rights, stating that women and men's "inherent physical and psychological differences justified differential treatment. Therefore, it was deemed reasonable for women to receive longer sentences, especially because they supposedly received more effective rehabilitation while incarcerated."

ONCE BEHIND BARS, WOMEN HAVE PROTESTED and challenged their conditions. In 1975, prisoners at the California Institution for Women, in Corona, protested the cancellation of family holiday visits and holiday packages. They gathered in the yard, broke windows, made noise and burned Christmas trees in a "solidarity" bonfire.

"The important thing was that it was not especially political in its roots—simply a classic example of a fed-up-population," recalled Sin Soracco, one of the riot's many participants. "The result, however, was very political: everyone had lots of time while we were locked down, in between bitching about the one hardboiled egg a day, to consider the idea of prison/punishment/conditions/rationale."

Despite the lockdown, the women circulated a document on which everyone wrote down their suggestions for demands. The document became the women's own Ten Points, demanding improved health care, food, education, maternity care and family visits, as well as an end to the arbitrary methods of penalizing women for infractions, the use of solitary confinement, brutal sentencing, overcrowding, and staff sadism.

Women's resistance is not always as visible as rioting. More than half the women in state prisons and local jails report having been physically and/or sexually abused while incarcerated. The Bureau of Justice Statistics found that women were three times more likely than men to have been physically or sexually abused prior to incarceration.

Prison environment, with its male guards, lack of privacy, physical and verbal abuse, and fear, often perpetuates abuse. Despite these circumstances, women have connected with and supported each other in their efforts to overcome past trauma.

In the late 1980s, women serving life sentences in Marysville, Ohio, formed a support group called Looking Inward for Excellence (LIFE). Members realized that many had been sentenced to life imprisonment for killing their abusers. At a time

when abuse and battering were not widely recognized in either the courtrooms or outside society, they began working around issues of domestic violence.

LIFE members reached out to other survivors, helping them overcome denial and encouraging them to apply for clemency. Their efforts led to 18 additional women applying for clemency. In the end, 25 women were granted clemency.

The actions of LIFE inspired women at the California Institution for Women to organize a similar clemency drive. Members of Convicted Women Against Abuse (CWAA), a prisoner-initiated support group for battered women, wrote a letter to then-Governor Pete Wilson asking him to consider commuting their sentences and inviting him to one of their weekly meetings so he could understand how they had ended up in prison.

Wilson declined the invitation, but the letter drew the attention of lawyers and advocates who helped the women draft arguments and gather evidence for clemency petitions. The governor granted clemency to three, denied it to seven, and made no decision on 24 of the petitions.

In both Ohio and California, battered women's efforts not only strengthened and expanded the clemency processes, but also raised public awareness about abuse. Even those not granted clemency became empowered to speak out about their experiences instead of continuing to live in shame.

CWAA members continue to meet and share current news regarding domestic violence, homicide cases, court rulings, and their own experiences with the justice system. They discuss possible legal strategies, media stories about women who fight back, and journalists with a focus on domestic violence.

THE ADVOCATES AND LAWYERS WHO ORIGINALLY helped women with their petitions formed the California Coalition for Battered Women in Prison to continue organizing and educating the public. More than 15 years later, the group, now part of the California Coalition for Women Prisoners, continues to advocate for the release of women imprisoned for self-defense. Within the past 12 years, the group has helped free 35 additional women.

Although the dramatic increase in women's incarceration has led to increased attention, many continue to believe that women do not resist or organize. Remembering these past revolts not only counters the belief that women passively accept injustice, but also opens the door to both recognizing the less visible forms of resistance within women's prisons and working to support their struggles.

Incarcerated women and their advocates have suggestions on how activists and organizers on the outside can support their resistance behind bars:

- **MAKE CONTACT WITH WOMEN IN PRISON.** As a woman incarcerated in Florida noted, "Visits, phone calls, and letter writing are essential. Only with a firm foundation, a strong founda-

THE USE OF PRISONS TO CONTROL WOMEN IS NOT NEW.

tion, can we together be able to build a greater movement."

- **SPEAK OUT OR WRITE ABOUT PRISON ISSUES**, especially when they intersect with issues that are considered "non-prison" issues.

- **SEND LITERATURE AND NEWS FROM THE OUTSIDE.**

- **PEER EDUCATION GROUPS NEED UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION** on health issues and treatments! They also need outside people who are willing to provide services not available (but much needed) within the prison.

- **FORTHOSECONNECTEDTO UNIVERSITIES** or other educational institutions: look into setting up a women's studies course or other program within a women's prison that helps articulate and challenge the dominant ways of thinking and the power structure.

- **PARTICIPATE IN SUPPORT ORGANIZATIONS** that include the participation and leadership of currently and/or formerly incarcerated women.

Victoria Law is a writer, photographer and mother. She is the editor of *Tenacious: Art and Writings by Women in Prison* and the author of *Resistance Behind Bars: The Struggles of Incarcerated Women* (PM Press 2009). Visit resistancebehindbars.org

She is currently co-editing *Don't Leave Your Friends Behind*, a handbook on supporting families in social justice movements (PM Press 2012).

The Eric McDavid case as a model for government misconduct in Green Scare prosecutions

The Myth of Entrapment

by jenny of Sacramento Prisoner Support

The word entrapment conjures images of agent provocateurs, phone taps, and men in suits listening to fuzzy conversations in white vans down the street. But most of all, it feeds into the myth of justice in a system that is hell-bent on pursuing the malicious prosecution of any and all movements that dare to oppose it.

When Eric McDavid was arrested in January 2006, then a 28-year-old environmental activist, entrapment was the word on everyone's lips. Accused of "conspiracy to destroy by arson or explosives" public and private property, Eric was arrested at gunpoint, thrown into the Sacramento County, California Main Jail, labeled a "terrorist," denied bail (twice), and sat in jail for almost two and a half years before being convicted of a crime.

When he was found guilty at trial, he was sentenced to an outrageous 19 years and 7 months in prison. All of this was the result of an undercover informant, "Anna," whom Eric had known for over a year and a half at the time of his arrest. She spent that time befriending Eric, drawing him in romantically and philosophically, and creating a case that would become a shining example of success for the FBI.

At the time of his arrest, Eric (and two other people with whom he was arrested) was living in a cabin in the small town of Dutch Flat, 150 miles northeast of San Francisco.

The cabin was paid for by Anna. The car they traveled in was owned by Anna. When the group went grocery shopping, Anna footed the bill. The computers they used were supplied by Anna. In fact, the group would not have been on the same coast if not for the great efforts of Anna, who drove Eric's companions, Zach and Lauren, from Washington DC to California in her own car.

All of the "bomb recipes"—written in Anna's handwriting in a little black book -- were supplied by her, and all of the materials the group purchased to assemble the so-called bombs were paid for by Anna. It is quite simply true: what the government designated a conspiracy would never have existed without

Anna's involvement.

If this isn't entrapment, what is?

Case law around entrapment is as varied as the courts themselves. Ultimately, what it comes down to in any courtroom is what the judge tells the jury they must consider when looking at the evidence. In Eric's case, the jury was told that the government must prove "the defendant was predisposed to commit the crime before being contacted by government agents, or 2) the

Eric Moved to Improved Facility

There's rarely positive development in the cases of Green Scare prisoners, but after spending two and a half years at a medium-security federal prison, Eric McDavid was recently moved to a low-security facility at Terminal Island, Calif.

For the first time in years, Eric can now feel grass beneath his feet and an improvement in his living conditions.

Please write him at his new address:

Eric McDavid 16209-097
FCI Terminal Island
PO Box 3007
San Pedro, CA 90731

Also, go to his support web site at supporteric.org where, among information and links, you can purchase "Support Eric" t-shirts.



Eric McDavid was entrapped and sentenced to 20 years

defendant was not induced by the government agents to commit the crime.”

To really understand entrapment, then, we must define things like “predisposition” and “inducement.” Predisposition simply means that a defendant would have been inclined to commit the crime even without government involvement. Inducement refers to “government conduct that creates a substantial risk that an otherwise law-abiding citizen will commit an offense” (US v. Manarite). According to a brief filed by the government in Eric’s case, this can include “persuasion, fraudulent representations, threats, coercive tactics, harassment, promises of reward, or pleas based on need, sympathy or friendship” (US v. Davis).

This all seems straightforward enough, but it gets tricky when arguing the details at trial, because both sides are trying to offer proof of something that can be incredibly difficult to prove—a person’s *intent*, their personality, their will. The old saying, “actions speak louder than words” is quite applicable here. People can talk for days about things they may or may not do, but until they actually do them, who’s to say whether or not they are predisposed?

Eric’s case was obviously not the first of its kind. The U.S. Supreme Court first recognized entrapment as a valid defense in 1932. But since Eric’s arrest and conviction there has been an upswing of reports in the media about “terrorist cells” being infiltrated by FBI informants. The way many of these cases were created and prosecuted is strikingly similar to the manner in which Eric’s case unfolded.

Informants work their way into a community (in most recent cases, it’s the Muslim community that is targeted) and starts snooping. They often speak with bravado and talk boldly about illegal actions. They seek out people they perceive as weak and/or easy to manipulate.

In the case of the Newburgh 4, charged with plotting to bomb a Bronx synagogue and a Jewish community center, and shoot down military planes, the informant was promising them large sums of money. One of the four was trying to get money to help pay medical bills for his ill brother.

And, they almost always provide the means for the so-called conspiracy to actually move forward. In Miami, in the Liberty City 7 case, the informant provided the defendants with money, a meeting space, video cameras (ostensibly to conduct surveillance), cell phones, even boots. And, of course, the informant provided them with plenty of suggestions about what their targets should be.

Despite all this, no one charged with a terrorism-related offense since 9/11 has successfully used the entrapment defense.

There are, perhaps, a few different reasons for this. As previously discussed, entrapment is an incredibly difficult thing to prove or disprove. And, if a prosecutor doesn’t like the way court proceedings are going, they can always convince the judge to define the terms and present them to a jury in a way that makes proving entrapment virtually impossible (as the judge did in Eric’s case).

In today’s political climate, most juries, hammered by patriotic rhetoric from the prosecution (and sometimes even the judge), are probably often intimidated into a conviction. Most people who could find themselves in the jury room of a federal terrorism trial would probably want to be seen as anything *but* “soft on terrorism.”

And, let us not forget, the government is quite skilled at bending and manipulating the law to make it work for them. By Anna’s own testimony, Eric was not “predisposed” when he met her in August of 2004. Based on transcripts from the discovery phase of the proceedings, when Anna asked Eric what had “radicalized” him, the only specific thing he mentioned was his relationship with her.

To get around this little problem, the government convinced the judge to redefine “first contact” (predisposition refers to a defendant’s state of mind *prior* to contact with a government agent) as the first time the defendant and the agent talk about the ~~alleged~~ crime, which pushed the time period the jury could consider for predisposition back a full year *after* Eric and Anna met, interacted, and built a relationship.

We must never think that the law will protect us; that is absolutely *not* what it is designed to do. The state spends a vast amount of resources on building and prosecuting these cases. They are loathe to lose them and will go to great lengths to ensure convictions (including having their witnesses lie on the stand, losing evidence, trying to have defense lawyers removed from the case, etc.).

Given all this, entrapment, as conceived by most people, doesn’t really exist as a defense. The myth of entrapment is not that it doesn’t exist, but that it exists for them; not for us. It allows the state to pretend there are safeguards in place to protect us from “outrageous government conduct.” It convinces us that if we do everything right, there might be a way out. It makes us believe that if we play along with the system just a little longer, our friend or loved one or brother or sister or son just might get out of jail.

Yes, Eric McDavid was entrapped. So were the Newburgh 4 and the Liberty City 7. And, tomorrow it will be someone else. Because entrapment works.

In an article published on the FBI’s website in June 2008, *Putting Intel to Work Against ELF and ALF Terrorists*, Eric’s case is held up as an example of how a successful investigation should be run. Yet, after Eric was convicted, several jurors went on-record with critical statements about Anna and the FBI.

Two jurors signed affidavits stating that Anna and the FBI were an “embarrassment.” They felt Eric had a strong case for entrapment, were confused by the judge’s instructions, and that Eric deserved, at the very least, a new trial. The thought of Eric’s case as a success for the FBI has frightening implications for the future of any movement seeking radical change.

But instead of cowering in fear, which is clearly the government’s intended purpose, let us instead learn what we can from our past. And, keep pushing forward.



—Maurice Spira

OCCUPY CONFRONTS THE POWER OF MONEY

The encampments as anarchy in action

by Walker Lane

A specter is haunting [the world] — the specter of [the Occupy movement]. All the powers of [the world] have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this specter.

—*The Communist Manifesto* – 1848, Karl Marx
& Fredrick Engels [altered to reflect current reality]

One hundred and sixty-three years after the original words were written, the specter the rulers of Europe so feared (communism, the word altered in the above quote) appeared to have been successfully vanquished.

But suddenly the Occupy movement went from 0 to a 100 mph in a few weeks placing the question of the rule of money on the political agenda across the world, and, in the U.S. for the first time in a hundred years. Inspired by the Arab Spring, the Greek, Spanish, and English opposition to shifting the cost of repairing capitalism from bankers to the people, almost overnight, Occupy sites sprouted up in over a thousand U.S. cities.

The dramatic events of September 17, when Occupy Wall Street launched, through December, have brought the words that define the class system and its hierarchal rule to the point where its main phrases, “99%,” “1%,” and “Occupy,” have entered the lexicon faster than any high school slang.

Criticism of Occupy, some of it from the left, that the movement is only a spasm of bottled up anger without programmatic demands, and at worse, reformist, fails to realize that occupying the sites constituted a critique of capitalism and the culture it spawns. All of the contradictions and problems of the encampments notwithstanding, the taking of public space where capital’s precepts are negated, a commitment to consensus decision making, the refusal of hierarchy, communal living, and confrontation with power, is anarchy in action.

Not *anarchism*, but, anarchy, the manner in which humans naturally associate to effectively and convivially live harmoniously. The politics of the people involved both as Occupiers and supporters were all over the left spectrum, but these anarchist processes were almost universally adhered to by all.

Even though Occupy immediately altered the political narrative, with even major media, talking about corporate greed, the increasing poor, and the impact of austerity on most Americans, the idea of permanent centers of protest and even revolution, was more than the rulers could tolerate. Even supposedly liberal city administrations.

The coordinated militarized police assaults to remove encampments in cities across the country was reminiscent of the murderous attacks on workers in earlier periods of labor militancy. Although there was general outrage at the repressive manner in which police cleared Occupy sites using clubs and pepper spray, the most frightening police armament carried into these situations, automatic assault rifles, seems to have gone unnoticed.

The cops were ready to kill.

With the clearing of the outdoor sites, the hope among the powerful is that this specter has gone the way of communism now that the streets have been returned to commerce.

We’ll see.

Much is still going on with the Occupy movement now quartered inside in many cities, and they continue to launch actions around a range of issues caused by the collapse of capitalism for large sections of the population. Still, the movement faces the daunting task of discerning what revolution means in the modern era.

The earliest concept of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, which was posed by those who capitalism exploited and oppressed from its origins, was a straight forward proposition: The means of production (the economy) would be seized by the proletariat who would eliminate the rule of the capitalist class and then administer society for the collective benefit of all. This is certainly a sensible and equitable solution to a horrid set of social circumstances that capitalism has always enforced upon society.

The main impediment to revolution is the political state which functions as the defense mechanism against attempts to eliminate capitalist property relationships. This socially constructed institution, which arose thou-

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**TOGETHER
WE CAN
OVERTURN
THE SYSTEM**

CAPITALISM

We Rule you

We fool you

We shoot at you

We eat for you

WE WORK FOR all

We feed all

Against Negation Or, Positively Revolting

by Patrick Dunn

By its own lights, the history of modernity has been a history of resentment, despair, and annihilation. God is dead, and nothing is permitted. The echo, in every cell of our dark prison, is a resounding "No!"

Hegel, an early and influential theorist of modernity, found a starting point for modern philosophy in the spirit of absolute negation. This negative path, he averred, was necessitated by the very form of modern subjectivity. Through a series of dialectical movements, thought could bring itself into reconciliation with the positive order of the day. But the task of relentlessly overcoming its alienation by seeking to fill the void inherent in self-consciousness could not be ignored by the modern subject.

When the social world fails to satisfy this essential need for disalienation, modernity's path of negation turns *revolutionary*. This is what happened in the revolutionary thought of the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries – but the same impulse had already found expression in the Radical Reformation, and then again in the thought of Rousseau and his Romantic contemporaries.

Unlike many of these earlier critics of modernity, however, the secular revo-

**Has anarchy trapped itself
in a vortex of
negativity, or, can a call for
love rescue it from itself?**

lutionaries of the nineteenth century, including Marx and Bakunin, regarded the absolute negation of present reality as the only possible path to collective liberation. In this way, the theoretical and eschatological discourses of earlier ages were replaced by a revolutionary rhetoric that was explicitly historical and practical.

In the aftermath of this revolutionary project, it has become increasingly clear that the alienating form of life Marx set out to negate – what he called Capital – has no external boundaries. Indeed, as the globalizing terrors of the past two hundred years have run their course, we have learned that the only kind of negation adequate to the task of confronting modern alienation is *total negation*.

In short, the negativity at the core of the modern subject, when invested in a radical critique of society, opposes itself to anything and everything that appears as a mediated object. The revolutionary spirit of modernity finally culminates in the nihilistic refrain sung by Groucho Marx (as Quincy Adams Wagstaff) in *Horse Feathers*: "Whatever it is, I'm against it!"

Whether the "I" in this statement is taken to signify an individual, a class, or a species, the result is the same. That is, the subject of modern thought is not defined by reference to any empirical identity, but by the negative impulse itself – and by the unity of the objective totality to which it is opposed.

As pure negativity, the subject is, perhaps first of all, against itself, against any identification with a determinate object or agency. But it is also against the objects themselves; insofar as any object exists, it implies mediation, heteronomy, unfreedom.

This absolute revolt against objective reality expresses a drive for liberation that suppresses all relationship to otherness; whatever appears as a thinkable object must necessarily be annihilated.

This is, at bottom, a philosophical ideal of pure freedom, estrangement from which constitutes the basis for the modern revolutionary logic of totality and negation. It is from the reactive standpoint of this ideal that

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Disobedience: The antidote for miserablism. It's our world; let's take it!

BY PENELOPE ROSEMONT

"Disobedience, in the eyes of anyone who has read history, is man's original virtue."

—Oscar Wilde

"...and then we go out and seize a square of singular symbolic significance and put our asses on the line to make it happen. The time has come to deploy this emerging stratagem against the greatest corrupter of our democracy: Wall Street, the financial Gomorrah of America."

—From *Adbusters* (September/October 2011 issue)

We are not protesting. Who is there to protest to? What could we ask them for that they could grant? We are occupying. We are reclaiming those same spaces of public practice that have been commodified, privatized and locked into the hands of faceless bureaucracy, real estate portfolios and police "protection." Hold on to these spaces, nurture them and let the boundaries of your occupations grow.

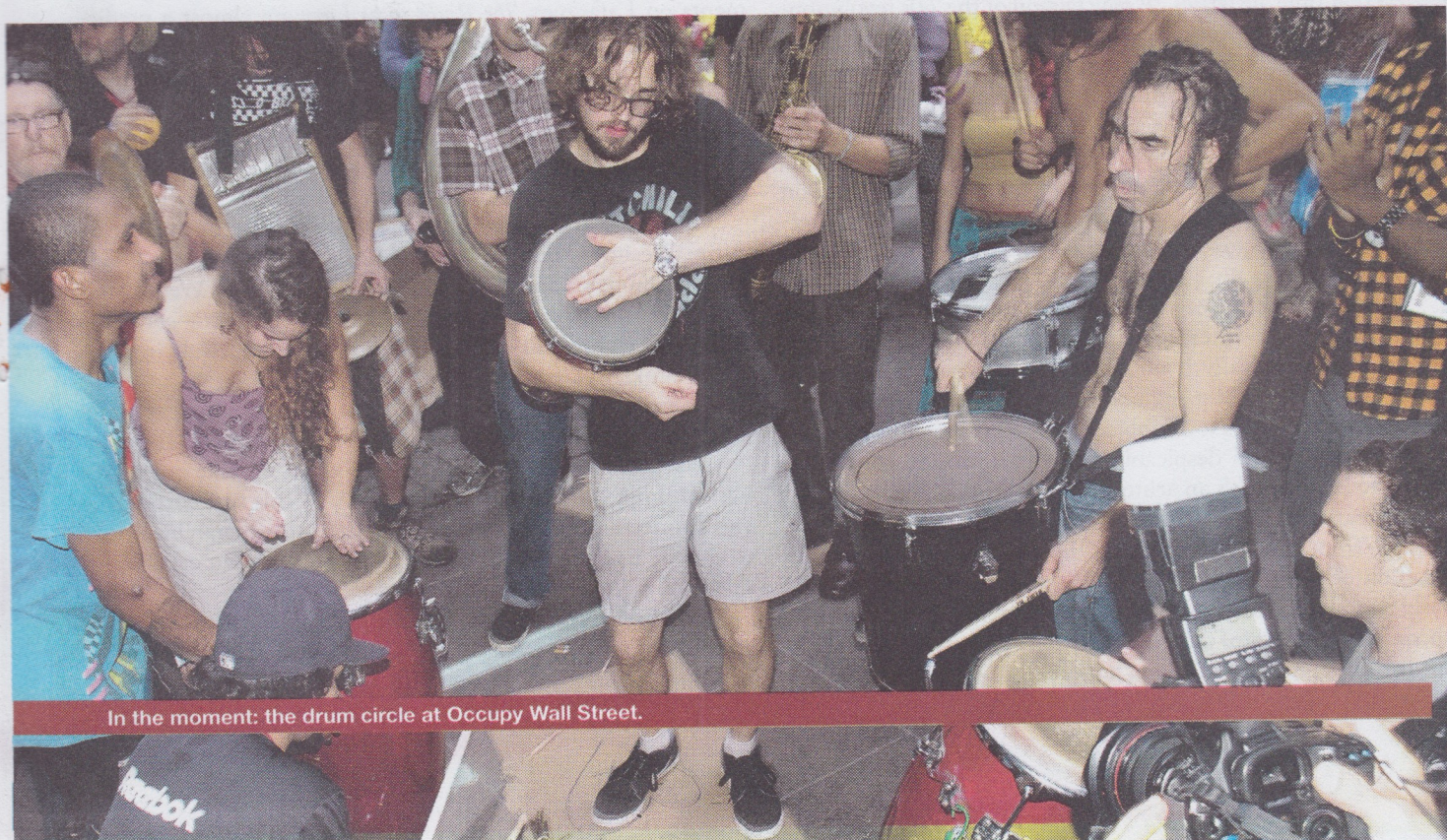
—Egyptian (Tahrir Square) Comrades

Unemployed, depressed, don't know what to do next? **WORK FULL-TIME!** Men and women needed *NOW* to work on *Occupy Everything!* No pay; possible great future.

Guaranteed: Enormous satisfaction right now! Make your *Unemployment* meaningful. Take the world apart and remold it to your desires. Don't gamble in casinos for petty stakes, don't waste your nickels and dimes. Gamble big! You have a world to win!

Work as we have known it is gone! For better or for worse, the workless future is here; right now. And, it must be reckoned with. Don't ask for jobs, don't be lonesome for your exploitation; don't miss your cage, or your alarm clock. Demand instead that everyone gets an equal share; demand ownership of the products that you make, the world that you create. Demand the natural world be restored ... a beauty for us now to enjoy and a way to sustain us the future.

Jacques Vaché, one of those World War I rebels who, with André Breton, was at the root of surrealism, considered the role of the Alarm-Clock in daily-life—that materialized superego lurking in every household. The Alarm Clock, he wrote, "a monster that has always frightened me because of the regimentation



In the moment: the drum circle at Occupy Wall Street.

glaring from its face, because of the way it—this honest man—glares at me when I enter the bedroom.” It is, “a hypocrite that detests me.”

Franklin Rosemont, co-founder of the Chicago Surrealist Group, commented that the alarm/time clock is “at the very center of the class struggle ... scientific management ... multiplied profits and the power of the giant trusts.” He then asks, “When will the last ten-thousand alarm-clocks be tossed on a bonfire of the last ten-million time cards?”

A good time would be now.

“Human dignity has been reduced to the level of exchange value,” wrote Surrealist André Breton. “We do not accept the laws of economy and exchange, we do not accept enslavement to work.”

Occupy Wall Street (OWS), we need to note, is the precariat—those who face an uncertain future—manifesting not as the “unemployed,” as defined by pointless policy makers, but as humanity in search of its dignity.

The critique of work and the consideration of new possibilities for everyday life began in the 1880s when Paul Lafargue, Karl Marx’s son-in-law, wrote an amazing book, *The Right to Be Lazy*. It was the first to recognize a disastrous dogma, “A strange delusion possesses the working classes of the nations where capitalist civilization holds its sway...[T]his delusion is the love of work, the furious passion for work, pushed even to the exhaustion of the vital force of the individual and his progeny. Instead of opposing this mental aberration, the priests, the economists and the moralists have cast a sacred halo over work ...”

This year, *The Right to Be Lazy* has come back into print at the precisely right moment with a excellent introduction by Bernard Marszalek, a *Fifth Estate* contributor in this issue. In his introduction, Marszalek writes, “*The Right to be Lazy*, after decades of obscurity, was reprinted by Solidarity Bookshop in the 60’s, at a time when academics, hippies and revolutionaries questioned the future of work.”

At that time, he writes, “A tiny faction of the ‘60s revolutionaries questioned the very necessity of work itself and advocated its abolition before the 1968 rebellion of French students and workers inspired many to think of work radically transformed. The Rebel Worker Group in Chicago, Fredy and Lorraine Perlman’s Black and Red and the *Fifth Estate*, both in Michigan, and Black Mask in New York City, expressed their utter disdain for toil and devised schemes to avoid it. Several dissident intellectuals, like Paul Goodman and Ivan Illich, agreed with these sentiments.”

The State, and the capitalism that it embodies and defends, has no solutions to offer; it can only respond by expanding its influence, economically if possible, and militarily if necessary. Ideally, however, its best method of social control is through a bewildering array of Non-Choices—breathhtaking spectacles of useless products and despicable celebrity antics. A corruption geared to leave us with an acute sense of defeatism.

We can observe the truth of Fredy Perlman’s often quoted passage from his *Reproduction of Daily Life*, concerning the situation of humankind in this society. They who were “previously conscious creators of their own meager existence become unconscious victims of their own activity. . .Men who were much but had little; now, have much, but are little.” Surrealists have a

word for it—“miserablism.”

In *Creating Anarchy*, Ron Sakolsky writes, “Miserablism is a system that produces misery and then rationalizes it by perpetuating the idea that such misery comprises the only possible reality.”

It’s time to ask the question, what do we really want? Shiny-black Gucci shoes and a stone-grey Bugatti Veyron, the world’s most over-priced auto to drive around through the assorted junk-yards of smashed automobiles, graveyards of abandoned tires and lonesome-bloated refrigerators that now surround our cities instead of prairies and forests? Or, an authentic life in a verdant world?

Our social world could be restructured so that work that needs to be done would be divided up among us all. Many hands make work light, as the old, old saying goes. Work could be structured so that hours would be short, variety would be possible, and it would be a pleasure to cooperate with each other and accomplish what needs to be done. Transforming work into useful, collaborative and fun activity, means we need to call that activity something besides work.

Can the great joy in the restoration of forests and prairies and sanctuaries for animals be called work? Is the joy of creating art, work? Or, constructing beautiful buildings, or teaching and helping others, work? Those lucky scientists who have the privilege of puzzling over the universe and figuring out complicated scientific and technical problems, do they define that activity as a sacrifice of their time and energy? They may call it “their work,” but this is not working by any current definition of the activity.

If for one day, work was freely shared, was focused on needs and for the benefit of all, not only would it be necessary to find another word for what was formerly known as “work,” but also, the world would change overnight. Also, freedom from oppressive work would allow us for the first time in history to truly develop our individuality.

It is interesting to note that Marszalek’s concluding comments on Lafargue’s *The Right to be Lazy* are almost a prediction of what began in lower Manhattan as Occupy Wall Street. Marszalek calls for *seizing space*—creating communal living spaces, occupying abandoned factory sites to re-industrialize for community use, building a decentralized energy commons, doing spontaneous theater in a bank—are like the late winter blossoms in the field of a new culture, a culture of rhizomic expansion.”

These remarks especially found their concrete expression during Occupy Oakland’s General Strike on Nov 2, when a theatrically animated and inspired crowd closed down a Wells Fargo Bank by assembling a typical American living room—complete with sofas, chairs, end-tables and lamps on the sidewalk in front of the bank.

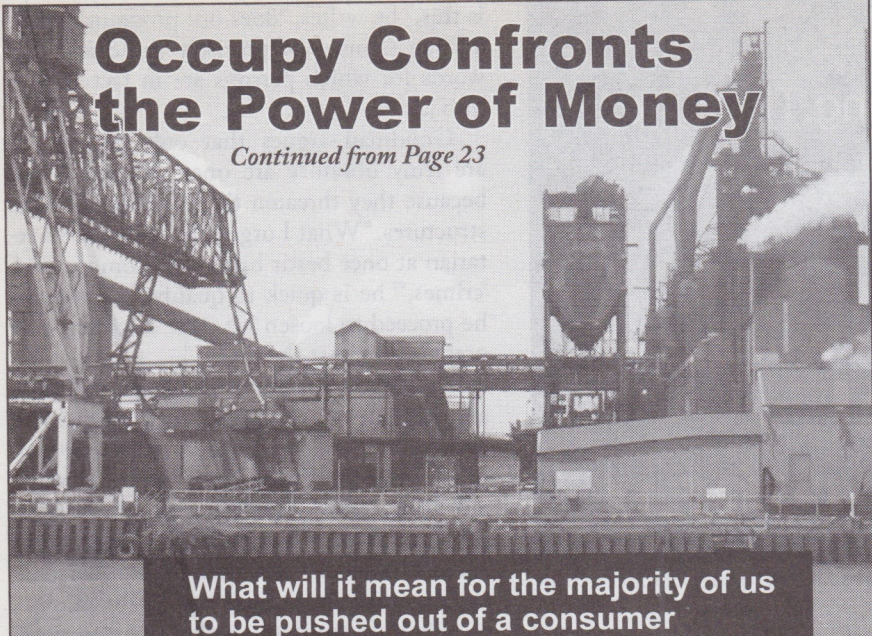
They apparently were planning to make themselves at home and why not? It’s our world. What are *you* going to do about It?

Marszalek analyzes what happens when we take our daily-lives into our own hands: “Development of this sort encourages and connects diverse social projects in a non-hierarchical way to solidify pragmatic politics and to amplify human capabilities that can lead to a truly rich life.”

In other words, rebellion that creates lasting social change *changes the changemaker* — frees the agent of change, to, as Breton famously said, change life and transform the world. **FE**

Occupy Confronts the Power of Money

Continued from Page 23



What will it mean for the majority of us to be pushed out of a consumer centered economy with much lower wages and no social safety net?

—photo: Walker Lane; Zug Island, Detroit

sands of years ago, hasn't altered its purpose of defending accumulated wealth and power since its inception.

As Fedele Spadafora's wonderful painting on Page 24, which redoes the old IWW social pyramid, illustrates, the state apparatus contains more elements than just its repressive mechanism. The "We Fool You" sector, i.e., nationalist myths, militarism, religion, and the Spectacle, are the state and capital's first line of defense. Only after these cease to be effective, as is often the case, are the cops and army deployed.

There never was a Golden Age of the state or capitalism. Both were always a set of horrors from their beginnings, and although certain sectors of the world, and certain sectors within nations at different times achieve a degree of economic prosperity beyond just rewarding the owners, there is always a much greater number whose misery and penury is a key to the plentitude of the few.

The favorite form of governance of all ruling classes is absolutism; their favorite class system is feudalism, but now with capitalist forms of ownership. This has overwhelmingly been the way human affairs have been administered in nation states since their emergence 4000 years ago. Challenges to these arrangements have been few, relatively speaking, and met with suppressive force when they have occurred.

Political arrangements in the West have had some success with demands for rights and inclusion in decision making harkening back to England's 13th century Magna Carta, and culminating in the bourgeois revolutions of the modern era beginning in the 17th. What was gained in these revolutions, which installed the emerging capitalist classes in power, was usually a formal democratic system in which people had the status of citizens rather than subjects. What was lost was the ostensible

reciprocity of feudal society where the peasants produced for the lords and in return were protected by them.

In the new capitalist societies, that social arrangement of mutual obligation evaporated, and the new class of workers were solely elements of production whose labor was purchased at the lowest price that could be leveraged by the emerging lords of manufacturing. Early revolts, such as those of the 19th century English Luddites were suppressed by massive military force, demonstrating that without the iron hand of the state, capitalist production would not have lasted long. [See p. 4]

Within capitalist countries of the West, movements arose around the inscription on the banner of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality." Taken to their full definitions, these words would proscribe capitalism and demand an anarchist socialism, so they mostly remain as pretty phrases trotted out on patriotic holidays.

For those who took them seriously, years of struggle ensued with numerous successes in terms of the conditions and rights of the common people. In this country, we know and celebrate the history of the abolitionists, suffragettes, the union and civil rights movement, and that of the women, gay, and disabilities rights struggles that have created a slow progress for inclusion within American society.

None of these hard won victories should be diminished, but within the economic and political sphere the same forces of greed and power continue to reign supreme all the while demonstrating a willingness (sometimes extremely begrudgingly) to allow some social equality; however, never economic.

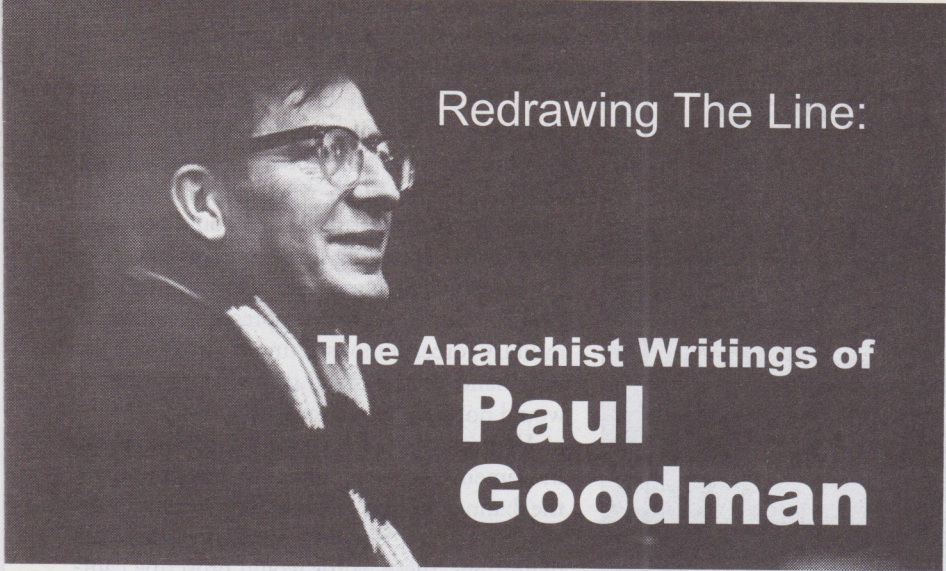
To a large extent this is a conscious strategy on the part of the rulers to mollify challenges with the correct perception on their part that reforms extend and affirm the system. Once the personal prejudices of a white, male elite are brought to heel, the extension of some amount of inclusion works well for them. Color, gender, religion, sexual preferences, etc., doesn't matter if you are consuming, or if you are a company CEO.

The apex of this reform strategy, following some in the Progressive Era, was during the unionization movement of the 1930s, which demanded a more equitable split of social wealth and other reforms to improve work and living conditions. This wasn't granted willingly by the rulers and came only after general strikes and class struggle so sharp that it resulted in the death of 300 unionists during the decade at the hands of the cops, national guard, and company goons.

The New Deal legislation that resulted and the extension of the union movement's success opened the way to the creation of a large, consumerist middle-class who saw themselves as having a stake in the system that had seemed near collapse just a few years previously. This is known as the Great Settlement which lasted approximately 35 years until the early 1970s.

The trade-off was, no class strife initiated by the workers in

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Redrawing The Line:

The Anarchist Writings of Paul Goodman

—from the 2011 Jonathon Lee film “Paul Goodman Changed My Life.” paulgoodmanfilm.com

Drawing The Line Once Again: Paul Goodman's Anarchist Writings, PM Press, 2010, 122 pages, trade paperback, \$14.95

by Paul Comeau

While relatively unknown today, Paul Goodman was one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century. In books like *Growing Up Absurd*, published in 1960, Goodman captured the zeitgeist of his era, catapulting himself to the forefront of American intellectual life as one of the leading dissident thinkers inspiring the burgeoning New Left.

Goodman, who passed away in 1972 at the age of 60, was an iconoclastic radical with a wide ranging scope of intellectual vision and a multi-faceted character. He was an anarchist, a family man, openly bisexual in a sexually repressive era, a psychologist (one of the founders of Gestalt Therapy), and a poet. He saw himself as a classical man of letters, and at his peak output, released nearly a book a year.

PM Press has recently reprinted some of Goodman's writings in three volumes. The first, *Drawing The Line Once Again: Paul Goodman's Anarchist Writings*, collects short essays from throughout Goodman's lifetime including “The May Pamphlet,” one of his earliest pieces. Many of these pieces were later incorporated into his longer works.

“The May Pamphlet” is in many ways Goodman's manifesto, outlining some of his basic principles. From advocating a free society, to discussing the nature of language, to an examination of the education system and its function as a system of coercion, the themes and principles outlined in it are revisited time and again throughout his writings.

One of the key ideas examined in the “May Pamphlet,” is his concept of a free society. This is one constantly striving towards what Goodman calls the natural society or how we would live and interact with one another if outside elements did not intrude in our lives. The free society strikes a balance between our natural impulses and desires, and the cultural expectations of society at-large.

“A free society,” Goodman writes, “cannot be the substitution of a ‘new order’ for the old order; it is the extension of spheres of free action until they make up most of the social life.” While the move towards a free society can be gradual, it cannot occur without “revolutionary disruption,” of some areas of society, “e.g., war, economics, sexual education – any genuine liberation whatsoever involves a total change.”

After establishing the baseline for his manifesto, Goodman moves on to develop what he calls “A Touchstone for the Libertarian Program.” “The Touchstone

is this,” he writes, “does our program involve a large number of precisely those acts and words for which persons are in fact thrown into jail?”

Goodman argues that only acts which are truly libtatory are ones that are illegal because they threaten the established power structures. “What I urge is not that the libertarian at once bestir himself to commit such ‘crimes,’” he is quick to qualify, “. . .but that he proceed to loosen his own ‘discipline’ and prejudice against these acts.”

By libertarian, he really means anarchist, and his call is not for anarchists to run out and commit acts of property destruction, or other acts mainstream society would consider violent, but instead to deconstruct the societal perceptions that lead to those things being considered violent and attempt to understand the larger implications of those perceptions.

How do we develop those perspectives? Where do they originate? From the oppressive power structures of our coercive society, Goodman would likely answer: “For most of us do not realize how broadly and deeply the coercive relations in which we have been born and bred have disciplined us to the continuation of these coercive relations.”

Goodman expands on his libertarian program by offering a critique of the revolutionary theory espoused by Marx and Engels, and demonstrates the futility in applying it to our modern society.

He breaks down Marx and Engels thusly:

“...the dynamism of the people's revolution into socialism rises from the interaction of two psychological attitudes: (a) the spiritual alienation of the proletariat because of the extreme division of labor and capitalist productive relations, from man's original concern with production and from natural social co-operation; (b) the brute reaction to intolerable deprivation brought on by the falling rate of profit and the capitalist crisis.”

Goodman saw in his day that point (b) had been largely removed, or at least shifted to the point that instead of survival, the working class now struggles for better “standards of living,” taking the coercive nature of the system as a given.

Point (a) of Marx's program had also undergone a dynamic shift, but in the opposite direction. “Marx saw wonderfully the emptiness of life in the modern system,” he writes, “but he failed to utter the warning that this emptiness could proceed so far that, without the spur of starvation, it could make a man

satisfied to be a traitor to his original nature. What he relied on to be a dynamic motor of revolution has become the cause of treason."

This situation, Goodman calls "sociolatry," "the concern felt by masses alienated from their deep natures for the smooth functioning of the industrial machine from which they believe they can get a higher standard of living and enjoy it in security."

In essence, this is an ideology that sells out the working classes' own interests for the interests of the dominating class, and Goodman rightly rejects it. He further rejects the Marxist call for state socialism as the solution, arguing that true socialism "implies the *absence* of state or other coercive power."

The revolution Goodman desires is not the sudden seizing of the state apparatus, but a revolution by degrees, slowly building until it culminates in a free society. The revolutionary process he envisions is the common anarchist vision frequently paraphrased as "building the new world in the shell of the old," with small groups working by mutual agreement and mutual aid and developing ever expanding circles of cooperation and free association. There is a practical reason for this as, "Our action must be aimed not as utopians, at a future establishment; but. . . at fraternal arrangements today, progressively incorporating more and more of the social functions into our free society."

Goodman expands on this with a six point program, which seeks to harmonize our natural lives and our social lives. This includes: reassessing our standards of living to something more in line with our natural "humane well-being;" working in jobs that realize individual and collective human powers and achieve human satisfaction; exercising direct initiative in local community problems "housing, community plan, schooling, etc.;" engaging in group psychotherapy to encourage members of the free society to cast off the shackles of the "alienated way of life," they are otherwise forced to live; and, along the same lines, encouraging sexual satisfaction including in adolescents and children to prevent them from developing neurotic prejudices to their natural impulses, and an "anxious submissiveness to authority;" as well as "progressively abstain[ing] from whatever is connected with the war." In this last point, he means the Vietnam War, but any of the state's recent wars can act as an equally odious stand-in.

Of Goodman's program, the only point that seems questionable is his advocating the sexualization of adolescents and children. While we understand that the puritanical browbeating that constitutes our current system of sexual education is inadequate to create people who can engage in sexual relations without domination or coercion on rational, emotional, and physical levels, I am skeptical that encouraging the sexuality of children or adolescents is a solution. Ultimately though, and I think Goodman would agree, it is up to the freely associating members of our society to determine for themselves and their children what are appropriate levels of sexuality and sexual conduct.

"The May Pamphlet" concludes with a section on "Unanimity," in which Goodman emphasizes the importance of "Positive Action." He writes "It is unprofitable to strive, in coercive conditions, for a relative advantage in a situation that, even if the victory is won, is coercive."

He argues that there is no choice of a "lesser of two evils," in natural ethics, so it is essential in a free society to take what one considers to be the morally correct position at all times. To do any less, to shirk the social responsibility shared by all members of a free society, is to limit our own free actions, and can lead to suffering and hardships only correctable through great sacrifice.

Thus, for him it is important that all members of society always be involved in "positive political action," to engage in political and economic action and discussion in all aspects of their day-to-day lives. It is only when we make politics an integral aspect of our daily lives, that they become a natural part of our free society, and not an outside coercive force, exercising unwanted power and authority over us. This idea is among the finest examples of the anarchist ideal in print.

In "Some Prima Facie Objections to Decentralism," also in the collection, Goodman makes the case for decentralism by addressing and debunking a number of the greatest arguments made against such organization. For him, it was important to respond to these objections as a means to challenge the increasing centralization of everything in our society, from the university, to the workplace, to the government. Such powerful centralization made it difficult for people to engage in society as free citizens, and make decisions that represented their own interests. The essay would later form the basis of the opening chapter in his book *People or Personnel* (1965).

Another of the collected essays, "The Black Flag of Anarchism," traces the history of anarchism, and demonstrates how the New Left student movement of the 1960s drew inspiration from, and acted on, the philosophies and principles of anarchism, whether they realized so or not. Substitute the "Occupy movement" for "the student movement," and what we have is an essay that is completely relevant to today's social movements.

The "participatory democracy" called for by the students of the New Left, is the same organizational structure advocated by Occupy Wall Street, and its offshoots. This essay is notable not only because of its relevance to our own times, but that it first saw print in no less a mainstream media outlet than the *New York Times Magazine* in 1968.

What emerges in *Drawing the Line Once Again* is a collection of short works introducing the basic themes and concepts of Goodman's writings. It is an excellent starting point for readers unfamiliar with his work to jump into an understanding of his ideas.

Throughout his works, Goodman's success as a writer is in the clear and lucid ways in which he portrays often complex ideas. This makes the ideas, often contrary to conventional thinking, easy to not only comprehend but to engage with in a way that leads readers to new understanding. Where much political writing today drowns readers in jargon, or assumes levels of advanced scholarship, Goodman's writing has the potential to reach a wider and more diverse audience, giving strength to his ideas that other equally intelligent writers might lack.

Note: Reviews of New Reformation, and The Paul Goodman Reader, two other PM Press reprints, will appear in our next two issues.

Declaration by the Ghost of Emma Goldman

I had come to believe capitalism is just the tip of the iceberg of human stupidity. Altogether there is no injustice without complicity. And truly the sight of a brooding wage slave beguiled by some vapid ideologue of privilege is pitiful. So certainly I knew if you drift into complicity with the world in its ever crude war against you, you lose the world within, but by then I was dying and in need of quiet so was tempted to simply tell them all what they wanted to hear, by then it already seemed idiotic to have much conversation at all, we so readily scoff at any workable proposal for our common survival. And our fetishes abound, as if it were more comforting to obsess about some conspiracy than to face up to the elemental stupidity of our breed.

How easily we succumb to the daily routines of our traumatic bonds. Just think how we yield to the factory system, moving like bugs through the industrial maze. And always some echo of brutality haunts us. At some point we'll either all crawl out of our trenches or die. And yet if I had come to hate what we are collectively, I was too often susceptible to who we are individually. Even now, amid these shadows, I'm baffled by the naïve adventurism of the heart.

There is the grit and what crawls in it. Contrary to the expectation of the living, death is about fundamentals and when it comes to fundamentals, in death as in life, if you give illusion no quarter you're on your own. Most days, like some wandering *dybbuk*, you can't put your arms or mind around death — but really what does it matter, by now you've come so far no act of will is required. My spirituality has come to be a profound disinterest in what's next, I'm dead but I'm not stupid, an artful death is next enough for me. I don't miss the meetings, the storm of words, the lonely oratory and constant exertion of the struggle, I miss breath, breath is the great ancestor, the ebb and flow of the precious phantom body. Antonio Porchia: *whatever breathes is incomplete*.

Our wise comrades realize not every battle will be won — for the wise, winning every battle is not desirable, for victory and defeat are both moral currents in the underground river that is the source of your power and the self-trust you must have if you would spit in the eye of the world. If, on the level of resistance, sentimentality and brutality are sometimes yoked together, so be it. Expediency is an organic evil but it is also true there are natural facts that must be conceded, just as ultimately the just path resonates with the body and the kindly body is our intimate comrade, our cosmos.

They say I ran the offices of Mother Earth with a heavy hand — fair enough, I've always run my projects with a heavy hand. And I was always suspicious of the artists and other bohemians

who festooned our gathering places like baubles or lurked in our café corners like shadows. The great vision requires the steadfastness of the critique, people too often confuse anarchism and our program of free love with mere spontaneity. But I toler-



ated these misfits, even if I never believed art to be the unerring heartbeat of the struggle I knew we must have its influence in our midst. Any fool can see how we perceive our solidarity when we are happy and our isolation when we suffer and, no matter how untamed its milieu, art awakens us to the stark fact of recognition that is the beginning of all transformation and of knowing that in neither plague nor disenfranchisement are we alone. All along I acknowledged we need these experimenters to remind us of the vast realm of connection, for forgetting it is more natural to us than remembering as we undergo the pedestrian demands of our days.

I remember one of their ilk used to provoke me to distraction, he was so unlike either Sasha or Ben, yet I was thoroughly unsettled by how readily he made me blush or even mindlessly tuck away a wayward lock of hair. Karl — a strange one, that one, with sundry warts on both his face and arms, some dark, some pale — and warts equally decorated his personality. He would declaim a strange poem about a leaf bright in the evening light, that sort of thing. And somehow I couldn't help but feel the most perfect thing about him was how he didn't know he had to be perfect, one day I'd berate him for some errant bourgeois view he had espoused and though he'd appear properly chastised the next he would put forward another disastrous opinion based on nearly the same assumption. Maybe he was just too busy rhapsodizing to really take himself to task, who can say? Anyhow, it's necessary to keep some perspective, certainly better these oddballs than those well scrubbed managers and agents like Frick, those family men and churchgoers basking in uprightness even as their true moral goal is daily put forth as simply more service to the great day of commerce ahead.

And I was aware that our artist cohorts never thought much of me either, they merely saw my uses like I saw theirs. But then I never really cared much what people thought, most of what people think isn't serious anyway. And it isn't thought that holds up the world. I don't know what holds up the world, maybe love, or the hope that one day it will *be* love that holds up our world, while we inevitably busy ourselves with the press of things we mostly soon forget. And all the while a thousand injustices can slip by like so many whispers in the wind, even as our maestros of war and finance wave their batons over the land and we stand on the same pier we've stood on for a millennium waving a ritual goodbye to our soldiers.

I see now that the mind is occupied territory. Most likely, as long as we're thinking the mind is under occupation. Despite our high ideals and surging rhetoric, we go on as if we were alone and adrift, seeking some small moment of advantage. Indeed, amid so much of the usual sectarian bickering you'd think we couldn't see past our noses or had to close one eye to see out of the other. Will we ever pull aside the curtain on this hapless drama?

That I reckoned all along that exile was preordained didn't relieve its bitterness when it came. And then we met Lenin and I knew right away from his methods and his manner that the inimical force is universal and subhuman, power defiling the dream of equality, not one of those Bolsheviki would know anarchism if it crawled up his arse.

Forcible exile was my transition to this protracted internal



EG Speaking in New York City's Union Square, 1916

epoch, for a born agitator probably the only way to get away, I admit. And I'll admit this present bardo of mirrors and shadows is not unfamiliar to me, it recalls the narrowing of the days leading to my removal like some sideshow Ishmael. I'll even confess that by then many of my comrades were happy to see me go as they had come to view me as merely difficult and disagreeable, but you see I had sought the path I would know as essential and when I found it I stuck to it — what apart from that willfulness would pierce the fog of subjugation?

I've been dreaming. The dead dream faceless dreams, the mind returning to the mineral wellspring, hardly distinguishable from the earth, not burdened by creation. I was really just a girl when I first came to New York and the verbal urgency of its anarchist halls and cafés, I was alive within that contradiction, wanting to throw off all fetters and yet, truth be told, be plucked like a dewy flower. Look at me now, in love with the borderless quiet. But I should say, having always taken refuge in candor, that despite my hardening pessimism, I still hope for the hidden story in all that unbroken conversation.

—Rick London

Positively Revolting *Continued from Page 24*

the revolutionary scene of confrontation between subject and object is held in thought.

Like Marxism and millenarianism before it, anarchism is an ideology that seeks to fulfill this logic on the plane of historical practice. Throughout the twentieth century, anarchists have extended the critique of alienation/domination to seemingly insurmountable regimes of social mediation – including such basic institutions as time, language, symbolic thought, and domestication. To this extent, anarchism has emerged as the most resolute embodiment of the modern logic of revolutionary negation. In its most dialectical forms, anarchism constitutes an attempt to actualize the spirit of total negation through a sustained path of collective action.

The problem with anarchism is not, as others have claimed, that it is insincere, that it partakes of absurdities, or that it leads to performative self-contradictions. On the contrary, anarchism suffers from *too much* sincerity. Or rather, it takes too seriously, and is too willing to believe in, the liberatory promises of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Enlightenment rationality. For it is a quintessentially modern gesture that defines the anarchist project of revolution: the purely negative subject standing in absolute moral judgment against the alien totality.

The logic of this gesture – the logic of subjectivity, which oscillates between absolute negation and affirmation – corresponds to no possible experience of freedom, or even of alienation. Its only service is to the abstract order of dialectical thought itself.

The origin of this movement of abstraction is fundamentally reactive; dialectical negation begins as a repression, or denial, of forces and potentials that life has set into motion.

Blinded by the gaze of its own totalizing logic, the modern subject closes itself off from the subtle play of connections that exceed its human, all too human categories.

The resulting discourse is the rationality of mass society, the dialectic of global, blank humanity, turned to face itself in a final, impotent roar of self-hatred and annihilation.

It is the rationality of estrangement and separation, which sucks the blood from its earthen body until it is left with nothing but the frozen image of its own distended corpse.

Anarchism attempts to politicize this abstract negativity through a radical assault on social institutions, but the total negation of established reality is not a course of action that can be rationally undertaken. The members of society cannot gather together and *decide* to do away with the totality, no matter how anarchist their ideology. Such a decision simply is not available within the order of conscious agency, let alone the order of existing democracy.

But the framework of modern rationality never was anything more than an illusion: the double-illusion of a free and pure subject mirroring a unified, knowable order of reality. It is no surprise, then, that the myth of modern freedom finds its fulfillment in humanity's willingness to think itself into an incapacitated condition in which no action is possible.

What this condition reveals is the true nature of the modern, revolutionary subject – its true desire and *raison d'être*. This subjectivity, incessantly repeating its empty gesture of total ne-

gation, is not moved by an instinct for freedom, or a will to transform relations of power. Rather, its nauseating logic of self-negation satisfies only the modern impulse towards death and destruction – the impulse of final surrender that underlies the entire Death-Machine that is modern civilization.

In the insurrectionist and nihilist strains of anarchism, which in recent years have gained prominence, this desire begins to make itself explicit. The destruction conceived by these insurrectionists is rampant and largely indiscriminate. No particular social institutions are targeted for criticism; no specific strategies of action are articulated or carried out.

One is tempted to find in this generalized will to rebellion the purest distillation of the modern spirit of negativity. But then one wonders why the rebels do not go all the way down the path of destruction and join the advocates of voluntary human extinction in granting the death-impulse its rightful stench of defeat.

Then again, what other options do we have left? Those who have been following the latest stages of the human death-march will undoubtedly want an answer to this question. Near as we are to the apocalyptic endgame of mass society, what choice is there but to confront the global order on its own turf? This would mean conjuring a voice as universal, as anonymous, as devoid of substance as the voice of the global spectacle itself.

But it is my key contention that this voice, which we identify as the voice of an oppressive totality, is already our own creation.

The anarchist quest for original wounds reveals the depths of our earthly suffering. The anarchist 'No' expresses a will to go on suffering under the paralyzing weight of death.

We hear this voice only because we are constantly listening for it, constantly tuned in for its latest News Reports, fixed in rapt attention to receive the "present order's uninterrupted discourse about itself."

But this discourse is a lie, and so is the myth of its total negation – a lie that makes the true believers among us accomplices in our own imprisonment. Perhaps it is time that we unplug from this thought-vacuum and scatter our attentions and curiosities elsewhere. We are free to do so – perhaps even, as we may find, once we have learned to transmit new voices, and communicate through new channels of energy, freer than we think.

To put the point in slightly more metaphysical terms, the totality exists only as the abstract object of the thought that wishes for its negation. By adopting this standpoint of abstraction, anarchism confines itself to the level of ideology.

Ideology, by its very nature, is rooted in hatred. It binds itself to an abstract other, enslaves itself to its own self-constitution, simply in order to have something to be against.

Love, by contrast, is an attractive force; it opens up new fields of rebirth where once there was only barren desert. If ever there was a time when we needed to find our way out of the desert, *my friends, we have reached that crossroads.*

Occupy Confronts the Power of Money

Continued from Page 27

return for a reduction in the rate of exploitation and a minimal share of social wealth. The latter provided for creation of a consumer class that the economy required as the it went beyond producing basic industrial products. This vertical integration of classes under the aegis of the state, combined with mobilizing workers for the second inter-imperial war, could easily meet the classic definition of fascism.

The expectation that each successive generation would advance through the economic system was dubbed the "American Dream," something that has significantly frayed in the last 40 years.

One of the slogans often heard in the Occupy movement is the plaintive call to "Restore the American Dream," uttered seemingly without recognition that the trajectory of capital world-wide has embarked on a massive reduction of economic and social gains made by the working class over the last 150 years.

If the capitalists have their way, and their forces and resources are many, there soon won't be a middle-class American Dream to which to return. The classic class formulation that all 19th century radicals tendered—capitalist and proletariat—will again become the norm.

The Dream, promulgated equally on the left and right, has always been a nightmare for other people here and abroad, and ignores that someone is always getting screwed somewhere, and badly, so we can shop at Whole Foods and buy iPhones.

The 35-year period which instilled the Dream myth in which anyone can "make it," and each generation does better economically than the prior one is now in terminal collapse in the popular imagination. And, myth is the operative word since upward mobility has always been fairly narrow within the American class system, it being, in reality, almost a caste system. Although some rise and a few falter, most people end up in the class to which they were born.

The great indignation among so many people contained in slogans such as "The banks got bailed out; we got sold out," is both righteous and understandable. But the system isn't broken, as is often suggested, but rather this is the way it works and always has. The attacks on what was once taken for granted as a middle-class standard of living are relentless with a recent survey showing that almost half of Americans are either poor or near poor. And, this in the richest country in the world.

The current trajectory of capital, the maximization of profit-taking, has as a model countries like Guatemala. This would mean for the U.S. that only about a third of the country would be well waged, and it is within that upper stratum where commodity consumption, financial transactions, and affluent lifestyles will continue in what we associate with middle-class living. Below that will be the vast majority, characterized by precarious labor, non-existent social services, deteriorating infrastructure, and general social insecurity.

A good illustration is the transformation of Detroit's Albert Kahn-designed Russell Industrial Center. During most of its existence since its opening in 1915, it operated in terms of its name, manufacturing automobile components for the city's many car companies. Now, its two million square-foot buildings, with industrial production long gone, is occupied by more than 150 creative tenants such as architects, painters, clothing designers, photographers, musicians, filmmakers, bands, and art galleries.

Certainly, most of us would rather visit Russell as a vibrant center of creative talent than an industrial shop of grey men forced to work to the rhythm of relentless machines, but its transformation is indicative of how a waged workforce with defined benefits is replaced in the same location by its opposite. The former, the so-called American Dream; the latter, the new face of capitalism which is often marked by scuffling at the bottom, hoping for work or sales, as talented as many at Russell are.

So, what is to be fought for by the Occupy movement and an ideal of anarchy? Perhaps a vision is best encapsulated by our back page slogan—"Everything for everyone!" The question, however, becomes, what is "everything?" Do we demand that everyone on the planet have all the consumer junk the global productive machine can churn out? Surely, the world cannot sustain that.

What will it mean for the majority of us to be pushed out of a consumer-centered economy with much lower wages and no social safety net? At best, it can mean constructing a revolutionary society within the shell of the larger society based on the elements which sprung up spontaneously at the Occupy sites. At worst, most of the world could become a dystopian urban nightmare with a generalized Kingston, Rio, or Ciudad Juarez becoming the norm.

In Detroit and elsewhere, community gardens, shared housing, and local start-up businesses, many energized and connected to social justice groups, are often held up as the model for re-inventing daily life divorced from capital's mainstream. There's a great deal of enthusiasm for this as a new revolutionary paradigm by writers such as Grace Lee Boggs (see her *The Next American Revolution*) and publications like *Yes!* magazine. But, hey, guys, businesses are businesses, and capitalist.

Much of the activity and vision they chronicle, particularly with Boggs, is admirable and many anarchists are swept up in it. They see possibilities in what has historically been designated as a situation of dual power where revolutionary formations take the place of official ones.

The down side of this perspective seems to be an unintended cooperation with what capitalism already has in store for us—shedding off millions of people from its mainstream and having them fare for themselves. It probably isn't bad to be confused about which direction will bring about the changes in our lives. We hopefully are only at the beginning of a movement that confronts power.

Could it be that this time around, the system's capacity for cooptation has run out of space, leaving the future to be creatively re-invented?

Increasingly, it seems as though many people are ready for the challenge.

A MODEST PROPOSAL

For preventing the Children of Poor People from Being a Burden to Their Parents or Country, and for Making Them Beneficial to the Public.

It is a melancholy object to those who walk through this great town when they see the streets crowded with beggars.

Having turned my thoughts upon this important subject,

I fortunately fell upon this proposal, which is wholly new, and of no expense.

I shall now therefore humbly propose my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the least objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing American, that a young healthy child well nursed is a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or broiled, and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee or ragout.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear,

and therefore very proper for landlords,

who, as they have already devoured

most of the parents, seem to have

the best title to the children.

Besides having a new dish
introduced to the tables of all

gentlemen of fortune,

the money will circulate

among ourselves,

the goods being entirely of our own manufacture.

Many other advantages might be enumerated.

For instance, the constant breeders gain by the sale of their

children. This would be a great inducement to marriage. And

it would increase the care and tenderness of mothers
toward their children.

Men would become as fond

of their wives during the

pregnancy as they now are

of their cows in calf, their sows

when they are ready

to farrow.

I desire those who dislike

my overture to attempt to answer

the impossibility of paying rent

without money or

trade.

I profess I have not the least interest in endeavoring
to promote this necessary work. But I have no other
motive than the public good of my country,

by providing for infants,
relieving the poor,
and giving some
pleasure to
the rich.

Essay by Jonathan Swift (1667—1745)

Illustrations by Peter Kuper (1958—)



By Dan Georgakas

3 Anarchist Rebellions on Film

Hundreds of films take on anarchist themes in some manner, but only a handful deal with anarchist governance. Three of the most interesting of these are, *Alexander the Great* (Megalexandros, 1980, Greek), *Viva Zapata!* (1952, United States), and *Rebellion in Patagonia* (La Patagonia Rebelde, 1974, Argentina).

The films offer complex psychological portraits set in striking physical and political landscapes. Each has an interesting purely cinematic dimension. For the purpose of this summary, I will concentrate only on aspects of each film that depict anarchists in revolutionary situations.

REBELLION IN PATAGONIA

Rebellion in Patagonia deals with a revolt in 1821 by Argentine anarcho-syndicalist workers in the rural area of Santa Cruz and their alliance with workers in Buenos Aires who also raised the black flag. The film opens with an anarchist hurling a fatal bomb at a Lieutenant Colonel Zavala, a prominent military officer. Flashbacks then take us back a few years to the striking workers in Patagonia.

Anarchist militants constantly quarrel about tactics, but are united regarding the principle that anarchists must adhere to whatever decisions the workers make. This view is juxtaposed to those of a group proclaiming itself Bolshevik. The Bolsheviks unilaterally undertake violent direct action and seem more bent on robbery for personal wealth than to finance social change.

The film's climax features wonderful images and principled debates by the armed workers who have been surrounded by a superior military force led by Col. Zavala. The colonel promises amnesty if the strikers surrender peacefully. After considerable deliberation, the strikers accept the offer as being made in good faith.

In the Greek film, *Megalexandros*, Alexander the Great's guerilla fighters seek to identify themselves with St. George, the Dragonslayer

Two anarchist militants who have been the focus of the film's action believe the strikers will be massacred. To remain ideologically pure they should stand with the workers' decision and hope their fears are not justified. One of the anarchists decides to do just that, but the other decides that such ideological purity is suicidal and escapes the entrapment. The amnesty offer is indeed fraudulent. The workers are murdered. The dissenting anarchist will deliver the retaliatory blow against Zavala years later.

The film's incidents are based on a massacre of 1,500 workers in Patagonia as rendered in *The Avengers of Tragic Patagonia*, a novel written by Osvald Bayer. The script was a collaborative work of Bayer, director Hector Olivera, and Fernando Ahala.

Rebellion won the Silver Bear award at the prestigious Berlin film festival in 1974, but more importantly was a huge popular success in Argentina, a nation then on the brink of a revolutionary upsurge. When the Argentinean military began its campaign of "disappearing" militants, the film was suppressed.

The most challenging ideological aspect of *Rebellion* is what anarchists should do when decisions democratically determined are judged to be destructive. While theory holds that truly democratic governance usually produces the wisest course, if the decisions seems suicidal, should an anarchist feel bound to honor it?

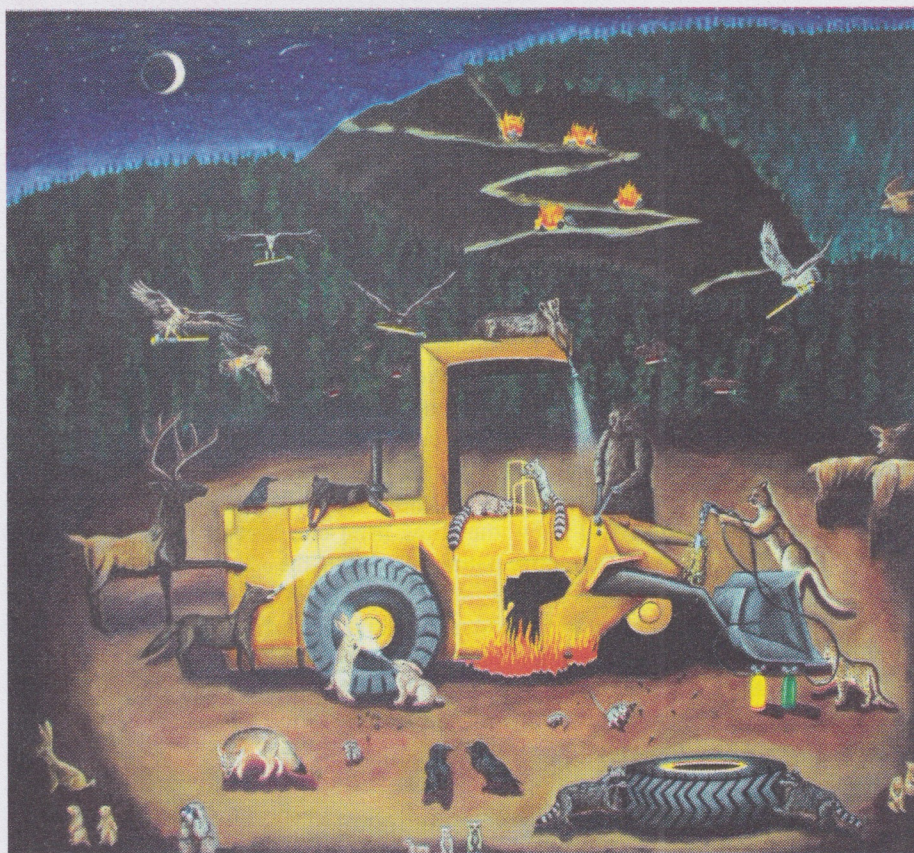
For anarcho-syndicalists, in particular, the problem is not academic. Lenin argued that unions were incapable of revolutionary decisions and required their views to be regulated by a vanguard of professional revolutionaries, what had the right to supersede democratic consensus. Anarchists have always denied the need for such a vanguard.

In this sense, is the action taken by the principled anarchist who escapes to fight again a repudiation of anarchist ideology? *Rebellion in Patagonia* poses the problem rather than resolving it, leaving viewers to consider similar problems that will inevitably arise in situations of this nature.

VIVA ZAPATA!

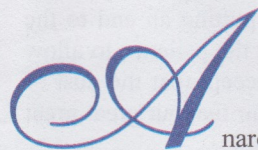
Viva Zapata!, starring Marlon Brando as the Mexican revolutionary, is an attempt by director Elia Kazan and scriptwriter John Steinbeck to make a film about armed revolution that repudiates the tactics and orga-

Continued on Page 41



— painting,
Michelle Waters
"Luddites," acrylics.
www.michellewatersart.com

The Revolutionary Posture of Anarcho-Primitivism In Defense of Anarchy's Redheaded Stepchild



By Mark R. Seely

Anarcho-primitivism comes in several flavors. In fact, there are probably as many varieties of anarcho-primitivism (AP) as there are anarcho-primitivists.

Some varieties focus more on primitivism, and emphasize the negative impact of industrial technology and the positive benefits of a return to a technological state better aligned with our evolutionary roots.

Others accentuate anarchism and the need to extract ourselves from hugely oppressive systems of power and control that actively prevent the free expression of our innate human nature.

Still others concentrate on the natural world and the need to establish ecologically-sensitive lifestyles and harmonious relationships with the biosphere (sometimes known as green anarchism). Regardless of the primary focus, the variants of AP share at least this in common: that global industrial civilization is a bad idea and needs to be stopped—very soon.

Some proponents of AP view the compound word, anarcho-primitivism, as redundant. Anarchism, at its core, is a rejection of hierarchical power relationships.

Primitivism, at its core, is the desire for physical and social conditions more conducive to an authentic human existence. These two concepts are not merely compatible, they are mutually dependent.

A lifestyle embedded in industrial mass technology is not possible without coercive systems of control. An authentic human existence is not possible within the mechanical schematic of hierarchically organized authority. Anarchy implies a return to the primitive and vice versa.

Technology is the obvious sticking point for anarchists who reject primitivism. Traditional anarchy typically views technology as a given, as a neutral substrate, and focuses instead on the need to collectivize power over its application, production, or distribution. But all technology beyond that of simple craft requires potentially oppressive systems of control. Interested readers can consult the works of Langdon Winner and Lewis Mumford for cogent and detailed discussions of the obligatory connection between technology and coercive power. AP is not anti-technology per se. Complex technology is simply recognized as inconsistent with the pursuit of free and authentic human lifestyles.

So what, according to AP, qualifies as a free and authentic human lifestyle?

One way of answering this is (perhaps ironically) to sample from the products of an advanced technology known as *social science*, specifically from an area of theoretical speculation and empirical investigation called *evolutionary psychology*. The basic premise of evolutionary psychology is that, as with much of human physiology, human psychology consists of evolved features that were fine-tuned as adaptations to life in Paleolithic hunter-gatherer band society. Because of the time course of natural selection in humans, the recent inclusion of domestication-based life-ways has not been incorporated into our genetically programmed psychological development.

An authentic human life, then, is a life lived in accord with our species' evolved expectations. Global civilization is entirely at odds with these expectations.

Although several recent millennia of genocide and conquest have likely reduced

or eliminated the expression of a variety of potential human traits, every child is born expecting the Pleistocene.

From a more practical standpoint, however, the real issue is what AP has to offer as a revolutionary posture. As anarchists, the global machine is our mutual enemy. Does AP imply courses of action that are different from those of other anarchist perspectives?

In terms of street-level, frontline activity: probably not. Perhaps you will find more AP-sympathizers at a tar sands protest than outside a G-20 Summit. But maybe not. And although direct action can take many forms, the fist of authority always wears the same uniform. Acts of insurrection and resistance by courageous anarchists on the frontlines are by necessity focused on the immediate and most conspicuous sources of oppression, and the less salient but more vulnerable parts of the system too often remain untouched.

How do we get behind the fist? Where are the soft parts of the system, and which ones should we target first? Does AP provide any special insight here?

Again, probably not. AP might offer some insight into how our evolved predilections are being abused, how our unfulfilled social and psychological needs have been crafted into shackles yoking us to the machine's drivetrain. But potentially exploitable vulnerabilities of the global system are independent of any social-political perspective.

Perhaps it is only after revolution is in progress that some distinctions between AP and other anarchist perspectives begin to emerge. For one thing, AP is less likely to balk at relinquishing the products of capitalist techno-culture once they are no longer needed as insurrectionary tools. Continued reliance on the accoutrements of civilization implies continued dependence on potentially oppressive systems of control, and

thus restricts the scope of revolution.

Also, AP is no different from some other anarchist perspectives in stressing the importance of local self-reliance; local self-reliance not only promotes the disintegration of the global system, it also serves as a potential prophylactic against at least some of the ensuing consequences. But for AP, local self-reliance is not merely a means; it is an end in itself.

And then there is the question of what happens next. Where do we go after the global machine crashes? Here is where AP has something unique to offer.

In 1978, Masanobu Fukuoka wrote *The One Straw Revolution*, a book promoting a "do-nothing" approach to organic farming. Modern industrial farming attempts to force nature by imposing an artificial structure on the natural world. The do-nothing approach involves working with the land's evolved propensities: simply scatter seed on an existing uncultivated field and allow the straw from one harvest to sit on the field and decompose naturally even as the next season's crop is being sown. After a few seasons, the field is producing almost as much as a commercially cultivated and chemically treated field, and there is a net improvement in the soil season by season.

Industrial civilization forces us to live in an unnatural, highly "cultivated" manner, and by living in this way we destroy our environment in the same way that plants forced to live in industrial monoculture exhaust the soil. And, as with the crops of industrial agriculture, it takes an enormous amount of energy and resources to maintain our lifestyle because we are being forced to live in conditions that run counter to our evolved propensities.

Fukuoka's solution is to stop the machines, let the soil and the plants do what they have been designed to do through several hundred million years of evolutionary fine-tuning. Likewise, the solution to restoring our social environment is to stop the machine of civilization, stop forcing our lives into conformity with an artificial and inhuman mode of being. Out of civilization's remains will eventually emerge fertile ecological and social "soil" for nurturing all of our human needs. The problem will be one of stopping the cultivators, putting an end to the mechanical disturbance, and then having the patience to allow the dust to settle—and the fortitude to accept that the dust of civilization's collapse will still be in the air that our great-great grandchildren breathe.

An AP interpretation of Fukuoka's solution breaks down to two parts. First, we need to put an end to the mechanical cultivation. We need to stop the industrial machine that is devouring the natural world and degrading our humanity. Second, in its place we need to cultivate patience, we need to allow the "soil" to heal itself and reestablish its ability to sustain and nourish.

The first part will be the hard part. Perhaps impossibly hard. But we will be supported in the second part by our own evolved human nature.

It is worth repeating: every child is born expecting the Pleistocene.

Mark Seely rants about the global machine and promotes a psychologically-informed anarcho-primitivism as *Old Dog* at anarcho-primitive.blogspot.com.



Don't Let Our Back Issues Spend Their Days Unread

Each Fifth Estate has a theme, so very little in our back issues are out of date.

TOP REQUESTED ISSUES:

Reconsidering Primitivism -

Summer 2004. Deconstructing Race - Winter 2004. Revolution: Spain, Venezuela, and Haymarket - Summer 2006. Money - Summer 2008. Pirates - Summer 2008; Belief - Summer 2010. 40th anniversary edition - histories and selections from 40 years of radical publishing. Other issues since 2000 also available. Bulk quantities available.

All issues \$3, postpaid. Ordering information at our web site www.fifthestate.org or direct from: Fifth Estate, POB 201016, Ferndale MI 48220



Militarized police attack unarmed demonstrators at a protest against the G20 meeting in Toronto, June 2010.

The Aftermath of Toronto's Anti-G20 Demos

A legal circus and the criminalization of dissent

In a packed Toronto courtroom, November 23, the prosecution dropped all conspiracy charges against the so-called "Main G20 Conspiracy Group," 17 organizers from Southern Ontario and Québec.

The G20 Summit, a meeting of in-

ternational finance ministers held in Toronto in June 2010, was met with huge protests, followed by unprecedented mass arrests: 1105 people detained, and over 300 charged. Countless others were targets of police brutality and violations of fundamental human rights. Of

those charged, almost 200 had charges dropped.

Almost 20,000 law enforcement personnel were deployed in Toronto to secure the summit from protests. Out of a unprecedented \$930 million dollar budget for the event, 85 percent was spent on security, turning the city into a mini-police state.

One of the 17 defendants, Patrick Cadorette, an organizer for the Anti-capitalist Convergence of Montréal (CLAC), had his charges withdrawn after almost 18 months of restrictive bail conditions, including 11 months under house arrest.

This legal development resulted from a plea agreement between Crown and Defense counsel. Of the 17 charged with conspiracy, six pled guilty to "counseling" mischief, while the 11 others had their charges dropped.

"The public has heard a lot about police brutality and mass arrests at the G20 summit," Cadorette says, "but the repression went a lot deeper than pictures of angry policemen beating on demonstrators."

"We now know," he continued, "that there was a complex strategy aimed at criminalizing political dissent and anti-capitalist organizing. This strategy included infiltration by undercover cops, the surveillance of various movements, the intimidation and harassment of activists, and hundreds of illegal searches and arbitrary detentions during the summit itself."

Cadorette also stated that through imposing draconian bail conditions such as strict non-association with targeted community organizations, long term house arrest, and banning organizing or attending public demonstrations, legal authorities clearly meant to weaken movements working for social and environmental justice and to discourage people who identify with these movements from getting involved.

Add to all this the serious criminal charges targeting organizers, public defamation, and bail hearings held in a climate of mass hysteria following the protests, as well as the staggering amounts requested for cash bail, and there are all the elements of a perfect plan to demonize and criminalize political activism."

The tremendous number of conspiracy charges laid against activists is also alarming. According to Blandine Juchs, of CLAC's Legal Support Committee,

Ten Years of Montreal's Mauvaise Herbe

The Montreal zine and distro, *Mauvaise Herbe* (MH) (The Weed), celebrated its tenth anniversary in 2011. The journal, with its green and anarchist insurrectionist influences, prints articles in French and English, was first to publish this perspective in French in Québec.

Since 2002, *Mauvaise* regularly presents workshops at the annual Montreal Anarchist Bookfair and at other events including the city's Eco-radical festival. The topics include anarchism and the anti-civ critique, the question of organization, the concept of autonomy, and on the challenges to Québec's eco-radical movement.

In 2003, *Mauvaise Herbe* Distro was formed to distribute insurrectionist anarchist and anti-civ pamphlets and books. In 2004, zine members and others took over the city's anarchist bookstore, Alterna-

tives, renaming it L'Inousmise.

In 2008, MH brought John Zerzan to Montreal, whose visit provoked great deal of controversy. A "coalition for progress in the anarchist milieu" was formed to oppose his visit. Zerzan received an e-mail death threat signed by the coalition's main group.

Just before his presentation at the bookfair, a bomb threat was received, followed by a picket line at the bookfair venue. After the event, a special issue of MH was published to respond to criticisms of its anti-civilization critique.

In 2011, the MH and others organized Montreal's first Anti-Civilization Week consisting of workshops and the screening of Franklin López's film, *End:Civ*, whose director was present for the event.

Issues are available online at <http://anarchieverte.ch40s.net/>

"Using conspiracy charges is strategic. The Crown initially lays grossly exaggerated charges to make sure they have enough wiggle room to squeeze out some guilty pleas for lesser charges down the road. But the charge of "counseling" itself criminalizes the simple expression of political opinion at political events".

Despite the public condemnations of the egregious police brutality and suppression of civil liberties, not surprisingly, all the police forces involved have gone unpunished and the politicians respon-

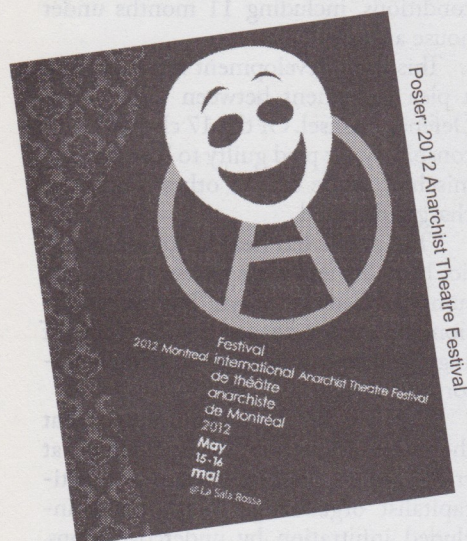
sible for the security debacle still remain in the shadow.

"Its a real farce," concludes Cadorette, "a big joke that cost a lot of money! And, for what? Who can say today what the purpose of the Toronto G20 was?"

"For us," he says, "one thing is clear, the G20 summits, the institution itself and its so-called leaders are completely illegitimate. At a time when revolts are sparking and multiplying everywhere against the tyranny of the market, austerity measures, economic inequalities, and

wide-spread environmental destruction, the wealthy and their goons know full well that their days are numbered. They are shitting their pants. It's why they're spending hundreds of millions to put up fences and place thousands of armed cops between them and the rage of the people." In the end, history will remember us as those who tried to stop the only real criminal conspiracy that happened in Toronto in June 2010: the bunch of fucking G20 crooks."

See conspiretoresist.wordpress.com/.



FE at NYC, Montreal, and SF

Anarchist Book Fairs Around the World in 2012

Many anarchist book fairs are scheduled for 2012, and the Fifth Estate will make an appearance at some of them.

We will have a booth for our magazine at the 6th annual New York City Anarchist Book Fair, which we will share with the Support Marie Mason Committee as we've done in past years.

We will also will share tables at the Montreal and San Francisco events.

NEW YORK

New York City has been a center of anarchist life, culture, struggle, and ideas for 150 years, and will host a week-end exposition of books, zines, pamphlets, art, film/video, and other cultural and

political productions of the anarchist scene worldwide April 14-15 at Judson Memorial Church in lower Manhattan.

Check their site for more information: anarchistbookfair.net/

The Book Fair also includes two days of panels, presentations, workshops, and skillshares. They call for anarchist publishers, zinesters, film/videographers, artists and members of the worldwide anarchist community to meet local anarchists and others from all over the globe.

Contact the NYC Anarchist Book Fair organizing collective to volunteer, make a donation, or get more information, at info@anarchistbookfair.net.

Diversity is important to them and they are committed to promoting voices typically underrepresented at mainstream and activist conferences, whether for reasons of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, income or ability.

The Book Fair has a policy against racist, sexist, queer-phobic, or other disrespectful behavior that works against

collective liberation for all communities.

MONTREAL

The 13th annual Montreal Anarchist Bookfair takes place during Montreal's month long Festival of Anarchy on May 19 and 20, 10am-5pm at the CEDA, 2515 rue Delisle, (a short walk from Lionel-Groulx metro).

The bookfair is one of North America's largest, and features publishers, distributors, and book sellers from across the continent and Europe. There is a zine room, films, art exhibits, and introductory as well as in-depth workshops, some in French and others in English. The Fifth Estate will be present with its latest edition.

The bookfair—and month-long Festival of Anarchy—bring together anarchist ideas and practice, through words, images, music, theatre and day-to-day struggles for justice, dignity and collective liberation.

The Festival of Anarchy begins with a traditional May Day march, an important event in Montreal. Different groups and individuals organize events during the Festival of Anarchy including poetry reading, films, and discussions. The Seventh Montreal International Anarchist Theatre Festival is May 15-17. See anarchisttheatrefestival.com for a listing of performances.

WORLD-WIDE

There are enough book fairs planned to necessitate a web site to help assure that events don't conflict, but also to connect people to them. Anarchist Bookfairs of the World is a resource blog to help advertise and organize anarchist bookfairs: anarchistbookfairs.blogspot.com/

Distro the FE at @ Book Fairs

If you would like to help circulate the Fifth Estate, we are looking for people to distribute our issues at North American anarchist book fairs. Let us know when an event in your area is occurring and how many you can pass out for free, and we'll ship them to you.

We would like to have our magazine at fairs on other continents, but postage costs have made shipping all but a few almost prohibitive.

Reach us by snail mail or at distro@fifthestate.org

3 Anarchist Films *Continued from Page 36*

nizational forms championed by Marxist-Leninists. Although the film, set during Mexico's 1910 revolution, has numerous fictionalized historical details, it remains psychologically true to Emiliano Zapata's character. The anarchist theme begins with the first scenes during which peasants (the original Zapatistas) make a communal defense of Zapata when he is arrested by the federal police. Throughout his military campaigns, Zapata is shown refusing privileges of any kind for himself or his closest associates, including his brother.

The film's pivotal scene is when Zapata denounces Fernando Aguirre, a Leninist professional revolutionary who has advised him. Zapata states that Aguirre is a man without a community, an ideologue more desirous of political power than justice. As an official in the revolutionary government, Zapata finds his own judgments being corrupted by having power. He resigns his role in government and command of his forces.

The script is politically explicit. Zapata states his followers have matured. "That's how things really change—slowly—through the people (*with a faraway look*" [this direction in the original script]). When his wife insists people must be led, he replies, "But by each other. A strong man makes a weak people. Strong people don't need a strong man."

Even though *Zapata!* like *Rebellion*, has a popular format, the 1950s McCarthy Era was not a period receptive to a film honoring an incorruptible revolutionary. *Zapata!* was a box office flop. Critical assessments from the left were influenced by the fact that Kazan turned informer in 1952, handing over the names of eight members of the Communist Party to the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in order to be allowed to continue making films in Hollywood.

Puzzling then and now was the number of left critics who thought the bolshevik Aguirre was the genuine revolutionary and Zapata well-intentioned but naive. Such critics did not know that Zapata had anarchist advisors and organized his Liberation Army of the South in accordance with anarchist principles.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The Alexander of *Alexander the Great* is the not the classic conqueror, but the Alexander of Greek folklore who is supposed to appear whenever the nation is threatened. As the film progresses, it becomes obvious the title is meant to be ironic.

The film's Alexander is a bandit-revolutionary who battles against a repressive monarchy in the final year of the nineteenth century. The film's action begins when Alexander escapes from prison, reunites with his warriors, and heads home to the mountains. Along the way he captures a group of English aristocrats on vacation and holds them for ransom. Still later, he encounters four Italian anarchists also heading for his home village.

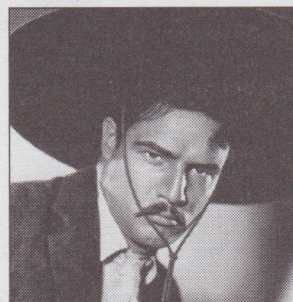
When Alexander arrives at the place of his birth, he discovers there has been a non-violent revolution that has abolished private property. Two farmers, one male, one female, welcome the Italians on the condition that they swear allegiance to the new totally egalitarian society in which women have full rights, a condition happily met. Alexander and his men do not take the oath.

That night the Italians are feted with joyful music and a banquet. In the midst of the merriment, Alexander and his men arrive clad in black and carrying rifles. They declare that having

fought bravely for the village for years, they intend to keep their property private. They sing and dance to a war melody, bringing the festivities to an end.

As internal tensions mount, a hostile monarchist army approaches. Alexander makes deals with the monarchists, betrays the village, and then, in turn, is betrayed by the monarchists.

He kills the captive Brits, the Italians, and numerous villagers. Much of the tragedy is seen through the eyes of the local schoolteacher, the village ideologue. The infighting reaches its climax when Greek women pull Alexander from his horse and pummel him to death. The action is shown from above so the viewer only sees the swirling black capes of the avenging widows. The women scatter when a monarchist cavalry unit arrives on the scene. The monarchists do not find a mutilated corpse but a marble statue of Alexander. The great man celebrated in



Zapata had anarchist advisors and organized his Liberation Army of the South in accordance with anarchist principles.

Marlon Brando in *Viva Zapata*, 1952

the plaza is actually a great villain. That same man, however, is not alien to the village, but one of its creations.

The popular appeal of *Alexander* is lessened by the highly individualist style of director Theo Angelopoulos. The most intricate and confusing of these is the exposition regarding Alexander and his family. The infant Alexander is adopted by a village woman who does not age and is later married by the adult Alexander. Their child is thus simultaneously Alexander's daughter and step-sister. A boy usually seen as the son of the adopting mother is sometimes depicted as being the young Alexander. These shifting identities coupled with direct evocations of Greek Orthodox iconology are designed to emphasize that we are not viewing a historical moment but a cultural syndrome.

The Greek public found the film's style tiresome and *Alexander* failed at the Greek box office. It won some awards at international festivals but critical support was tepid. Greek leftist critics, rather than seeing the village commune's link to the ideas of Kropotkin and Malatesta, generally thought the strikingly similar physical appearance of the film's Alexander with that of legendary guerilla leader, Aris Velouhiotis, mocked the gallant guerilla fighters of the anti-Nazi Resistance and the 1946-9 Greek Civil War.

Alexander the Great, *Viva Zapata!*, and *Rebellion in Patagonia* all depict communities in which people have assumed control of their daily lives, illustrating what anarchism is for rather than simply what it is against. Each film also asks how does one defend such communities against an Alexander, an Aguirre, or a Zavala without compromising anarchist principles.

Dan Georgakas is a long time editor of *Cineaste* film quarterly cineaste.com. The third edition of his *Detroit; I Do Mind Dying*, coauthored with Marvin Surkin, is due for late 2012 release by Haymarket Books.



—Fedele Spadafora

What Silence Can't Hide

REVIEW

So Much Pretty

by **Cara Hoffman**,

Simon & Schuster, 2011, 304 pages

"I wrote *So Much Pretty* because I wanted to talk about family and community and the ways in which things that have become familiar to us are often not what they seem, are rife with meanings that elude our selective senses, that turn us into unwitting accomplices, secret sharers of observable but unspeakable things. Our desires for security, or belonging or freedom suddenly becoming the weight that sinks us. . . I wanted to discuss how well meaning people are often complicit in destroying the things they most want to preserve."

—Cara Hoffman

—from *carahoffman.com*

by **Marieke Bivar**

I picked up *So Much Pretty* looking to escape the world and its many disappointments. What I found instead was a story that could very well happen in my community, to my friends, to their children. . . a terrifying prospect.

And yet, I kept reading.

As the suspense mounted, as a girl went missing, as the chapters began to be numbered as police evidence, I could not turn away. The unfortunate universal appeal of Hoffman's dark tale of abduction and rape lies in the uncomfortable familiarity of its subject matter.

As difficult as this book is to accept as a reflection of our culture, many of us are relieved to hear a story like this one spoken out loud, relieved to know that others are devastated with anger and sadness, and that we are not alone.

Cara Hoffman's novel gives us a glimpse into its author's life experience. Her work as an investigative reporter on both crime and environmental issues gives her a unique perspective that allows her to make the links between the way we treat the earth and animals, and the way we treat one another. The author's emancipated youth as a wandering agricultural worker also gives her the palette for what is arguably the protagonist of *So Much Pretty*, an unusually bright teenager named Alice.

There is a sort of grayness to Haeden, New York, the fictional small town where most of the story in *So Much Pretty* takes place. Amidst industrial farm pollution, sexual tension, unhappiness, and some-

thing far more subtle, a quiet violence rumbling under the surface, people raise their families, work, and live.

This setting is contrasted with New York City, where Claire, Gene, and their young daughter Alice live prior to moving to Haeden. At the free clinic where Claire works in the city, the aftermath of an unspoken, almost "planned" violence is evident on the bodies of the women and children she treats.

The wounds Claire treats in Manhattan are deafening in their prevalence, and although she tries to drown the images out and carry on "doing the right thing" by working long hours away from her partner and child, she ends up feeling overwhelmed and helpless.

Besides Claire and Gene with their philosophical anarchism, the book introduces us to an array of Haeden's somnambulant residents and to Alice.

Alice's character is a medley of influences; a confirmed pragmatist and accomplished science student, an idealist, writing school essays on Situationism, an animal lover, a hunter, swimmer, and gymnast.

Alice is a beautiful archetype of a next generation anarchist, so to speak, and through her Hoffman ably addresses cur-

rent tensions in radical circles between a younger, more action oriented tendency and a generally older, more tentatively intellectual tendency (think Crimethink v.s Chomsky).

The move to Haeden is meant to give Gene and Claire a guilty new start, far from the constant trauma of the city, yet the town may be quieter than the couple had hoped. Gene soon finds he can only get so far with his plans for a united, politically active community and Claire ends up retreating into a silence of quiet rage she cannot quite express to the women she meets in the area.

The silence Claire keeps is only one of many silences in *So Much Pretty*; there is silence about pesticides and manure leeching into Haeden's groundwater, there is silence about misogyny and good old-fashioned sexism, and there is an especially disturbing silence around Wendy White's sudden disappearance.

Alice, like so many people at that strange and powerful point between childhood and adulthood, struggles to understand her parents' desire to escape back to the land that is so different from

her own need to face the reality of the world in all of its brutality.

One thing that begins to define her, as she reaches adolescence and as she comes to terms with what has presumably happened to Wendy, is her body and its sex. Realizing the risks she runs in simply inhabiting a woman's body leads Alice to make an important decision about what her "ethical obligations" are towards Wendy, her own family, and Haeden.

Alice's pragmatic nature leads her to consider the silence around the Wendy White to be ethically unacceptable. "It would hardly be rational," she explains, "to accept that I live inside a thing made of flesh that people capture, hide, and then wait in line to rape."

Although *So Much Pretty* predominantly gives voice to Claire, Gene, and Alice, the novel is laid out as a series of perspectives that reveal what is being kept quiet and why.

Among those lending perspective are men and women, parents and children, a cop, a reporter, an abductor and his victim. It is through having access to all of

these voices that the reader is able to pick their way through the evidence and arrive at Alice's moment of action feeling they can understand, if not approve of, her choice.

Although we could see in this story a triumph of action over ideals, we can also see it as a compromise. After all, could Alice ever have made the choice to take risks in the name of justice without those bedtime readings of radical environmentalist Derrick Jensen?

Could any of us consider seeking social justice without inspiration from the political analysis of an Emma Goldman or a Grace Boggs?

Whether *So Much Pretty* brings us to identify with Alice or not, Hoffman leaves us no doubt that her intentions are noble and come from a place of deep love and outrage.

May we at least identify with Alice for her courage and intentions, as well as with her parents for choosing to seek change through building and repairing community.

There is a need for both.

New Releases from the DIY Bandits Collective

by Paul Comeau

The DIY Bandits collective are many things: a record label, a distro, a booking agency, and a bunch of cool people from many walks of life who are tired of the status quo.

The Bandits do not see themselves as anarchists, as they say on their website, "DIY Bandits do not belong to the anarchist scene, punk scene, underground scene, or mainstream scene. Bandits are not interested in being seen as a scene but rather in dismantling all scenes."

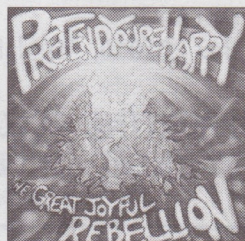
That said, they do support a number of rad anarchist projects (including the zine you hold in your hands), and for that we can all be grateful. As a record label, DIY Bandits puts out an eclectic mix of artists, in CD or CD-R formats depending on the artist and the financial resources of the collective.

These albums reviewed and many



more can be ordered directly from the Bandits. Check out their website, diybandits.com or write to them via snail mail: DIY Bandits

HQ, PO Box 101, Ansonia, CT 06401.



PRETEND YOU'RE HAPPY: THE GREAT JOYFUL REBELLION: CD

Pretend You're Happy is the project of Jeremiah Morelock and a gaggle of backing musicians. Part of what makes the

project what it is, is a conscious effort by Morelock to "become more emotionally risky in my song writing by depicting the 'it' that I believe in, without relying on sardonic exaggerations, double negatives, or political manifestos," he writes inside the CD case.

If *The Great Joyful Rebellion* is indeed the "apex," of such efforts, as Morelock calls, then it is a pinnacle of musical craftsmanship. *The Great Joyful Rebellion* sounds like a soundtrack to a great indie flick, or the performance of a rowdy sort of rag-tag orchestra.

There's an epicness present on many of these songs, a *gravitas* if you will, that conveys power, but is not above getting rowdy and having a good time.

Tracks of particular note include "Hail To The Dream," "If The World Was Free," and "Sailing Through The Stars." "Hail To The Dream," is the first proper song after two short preludes, and establishes the tone of the album.

"If The World Was Free," while barely

a minute long, is a rager of song that starts out subtly before exploding with energy. "Sailing Through the Stars" is by far the best track, encompassing everything that is awesome about Pretend You're Happy into the space of just under seven minutes.

I'm not sure who this will appeal most to, but this is an album worth checking out whatever your musical inclinations.

RAMSHACKLE GLORY: LIVE THE DREAM: CD

Ramshackle Glory is the latest in a line of inspiring radical folk projects from Pat "The Bunny," Schneeweis, formerly of Johnny Hobo and Wingnut Dishwashers Union.

With Ramshackle Glory, Pat has assembled an array of talented co-conspirators for this new project, and their collective output, Ramshackle Glory's first album *Live The Dream* is among the best of Pat's projects thus far.

Lyrical topics range from anti-capitalist attacks on the status quo to love, and addiction, all told with a poetic flair. Of particular note on this album are the tracks, "From Here Till Utopia," and "Vampires Are Poseurs," which capture the essence of upbeat folk/punk. "Vampires Are Poseurs," is also great for the parts where Pat beatboxes.

Fans of past projects by Pat, and folk/punk in general will quickly come to love Ramshackle Glory.



SOLE: NUCLEAR WINTER VOLUME 2 - DEATH PANEL: CD

The jarring beats and haphazard rhymes of Sole's *Nuclear Winter Volume 2 -Death Panel*, are a challenge for even the most loyal fan of political hip-hop to bear. While the politics expressed in the song titles and suggested reading list appear right on, Sole's rhymes are flat and uninspired, resorting at points to cursing in place of providing lyrics of actual sub-

stance.

The cacophonous beats of many songs were difficult to listen to, so much so that they distracted from the messages expressed in the lyrics. Political hip-hop is awesome for its potential to forge pow-

erful messages with great beats, creating songs that stick in the minds of listeners long after the last note fades. This album is one sure to stick in the minds of listeners as well, but for all the wrong reasons.

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SPAIN: model for anarchist organizing

THE CNT IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION VOLUME I

José Peirats, Edited and Introduced by Chris Ealham; Translated by Paul Sharkey

PM Press / Christie Books; 432pp, \$28; www.pmpress.org

by David Porter

The Spanish anarchist movement and revolution of the late 1930s are undoubtedly the historical force and context most praised by Western anarchists.

In absolute numbers, in proportion of the overall population they were part of, and in the radical transformation they accomplished in much of Spanish society, the reputation is well deserved.

Highlighting their accomplishments, José Peirats, the author of the best history (in three volumes) of the immense Spanish anarcho-syndicalist *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT), states as well that, "We write for history's sake and also for the purpose of enlightening future generations of fighters." For this reason also, he says, "none of the mistakes made by workers should be glossed over in silence."

It is critical that contemporary anarchists accept his advice. This recently published first volume of the English translation of his definitive work is an excellent place to begin.

This volume, translated by Paul Sharkey and Chris Ealham and extensively edited by the latter, provides exceptionally well documented insight into the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement's first tumultuous decades as well as its internal ideological struggles and organizational variety.

It continues with the CNT's initial experience in fighting

Spanish fascist/Nationalist forces while simultaneously constructing the beginnings of libertarian communism in the Civil War and Revolution of the 1930s.

Several months after a Left coalition electoral victory in February 1936, Spanish military and Rightist political forces launched a violent revolt to overthrow the new government. Anarchists (and others) immediately resisted his effort in direct street clashes throughout Spain.

In Catalonia, where the CNT was the largest force on the Left, and elsewhere in the center and east of Spain, Leftist forces prevailed. Soon thereafter, front lines were established that divided Spain down the middle and more traditional warfare began.

Ealham's detailed historical and documentary knowledge, as well as his political understanding of the continued relevance of Peirats' account, significantly help in comprehending and appreciating

the common political issues between the historical subjects discussed and contemporary readers. Ealham's detailed notes and commentary bring up-to-date, and greatly add, to both the book's scholarly and political activist dimensions.

Additionally, Ealham's rich introductory account of the genesis of the original work published in 1951 and Peirats' immense travails to complete it in conditions of post-Civil War exile, poverty and repression, provide a sobering contrast to the relative comfort of most present-day anarchist historians.

Long-time *Fifth Estate* staff member, Federico Arcos, who fought against the fascists in his native Spain, provided crucial assistance for the Meltzer Press original 2001 British publication of this translation as well as extensive valuable photographic resources whose images bring the text even more to life.

In our present context of spreading popular uprisings against the tightening screws of sick and increasingly desperate and repressive capitalism, this account is most timely.

How Spanish anarchists created a massive working-class revolutionary organization in the midst of a capitalist society, the nature of the social transformation they envisaged, and the struggle to maintain the integrity of organizational principles and objectives in the midst of civil war and betrayal by political "allies" are all critical issues for the contem-



Top: *Milicianas*: Militia women at the Madrid front, 1936.
Above: Militia column at the Bakunin barracks, Barcelona, 1936.
—from the book;

porary movement of anarchists and anti-authoritarians.

Peirats, as the documentary historian, provides rich and detailed accounts of the debates. At the same time, as the experienced revolutionary activist, he conveys the passions, ideals and perilous myths lived at the grassroots level.

Peirats' discussion and the events in Spain raise basic questions about what is and what makes a revolution. Is it realistic to hope for a single emancipating occurrence or is it instead a long-range and never-ending process of significant anti-hierarchical ruptures that break through the established forms of dominance faced in their specificities by each generation and social context? Alternatively, as the Spanish example suggests, the very potential for a deep revolutionary transformation at any historical juncture depends on both a long series of social ruptures over previous decades as well as a propitious immediate context of external factors.

While the Left electoral victory and subsequent civil war in 1936 opened up social space in areas of anarchist preponderance for revolutionary economic and social forms, the Left government and the war itself also imposed intense hierarchical demands of their own through repressive threats, dependence on foreign support, and the nature of violence itself.

The CNT, the anarcho-syndicalist mass revolutionary labor union founded in 1910, is the focus of Peirats' history. But Spanish anarchism was both part of and partly separate from the CNT. This ambiguity between more purist anarchists (most prominently the FAI, the Iberian Anarchist Federation, founded in 1927) and the mass anarcho-syndicalist union movement provided much of the ongoing tension within Spanish anarchism before and during the 1930s.

Creating and maintaining a mass organization, however, inspired and led by veteran anarchists, brought forth issues of practical coordination of large numbers of workers, differing revolutionary commitment levels among those with and without anarchist backgrounds, and the difficulty of wielding decisive political power in the midst of various competing political parties and a rival socialist mass union movement, the UGT, without corrupting the anti-statist nature of the an-

archist ideal and practice.

In Spain at that time, the CNT represented by far the largest political force of anarchist inspiration. However, its claim to privileged influence over the strategy and goals of Spanish anarchism was constantly in dispute by those critical of its decisions or those anarchists not committed to a syndicalist orientation. Because of its very size and dynamism, whatever direction the CNT took usually had important repercussions on all anarchists, whether CNT members or not.

This was an important authority issue in itself. Authority disputes also emerged between historic leaders as well as between those who did and those who did not partake in violent direct action initiatives before 1936. Aside from this was the potential for CNT institutional bureaucratization and defensive leadership styles, especially after the fateful decision in 1936 to join newly created anti-fascist unity governments at national, provincial, and local levels, despite the CNT's diligent traditional commitment to decentralist and anti-elitist organizational principles and grassroots accountability.

As French anarchist Sébastien Faure observed, the result of the CNT's governmental collaboration was that, "the impulse no longer emanates from the base but from the upper echelon; guidelines do not emanate from the masses but from the leadership."

From the late 1920s through the entire Spanish Civil War and Revolution, and the defeat of both in 1939 (and later postwar exile), the issue of whether and how much this anti-statist movement should collaborate (including electoral voting in 1931, 1933 and 1936) with non-anarchist political forces (left and liberal parties and unions) was constantly debated and caused fundamental splits within the movement.

The high-stakes volatility connected to this debate was all the greater in desperate contexts of potential and real massive repression from rightist forces, especially during the Civil War itself.

The dilemma was inevitable for a movement which, however strong, was only a large minority within the overall population, which was committed against imposing its own dictatorship on others and which, nevertheless, was under violent attack by state, capitalist and aristocratic forces.

When collaboration logic was accepted, even to the point of allowing four anarchist leaders to become ministers of the wartime central government, anarchists faced additional continued problems of how much to compromise the ideal of libertarian revolutionary self-direction in the face of alliance partners (liberal Republicans, Socialists, and Communists) whose leaders were committed to power aggrandizement (and, with the Stalinists, frequently to persecution of anarchists) at every turn, even in the midst of the deadly civil war.

The consequences of repression and sabotage of anarchists' military efforts and the rural revolutionary collectives in the Aragon area by their supposedly anti-fascist allies (especially the Communists) were enormously bitter and costly, as well described in this volume.

As Peirats states, "The CNT had glided into an uninterrupted avalanche of concessions. It was hard to get off this slippery slope. It had to do battle on terrain utterly different from its own... The CNT, heroic and invincible in the union, the factory and the streets, was easy prey in the salons and corridors of the ministries."

Nevertheless, at the grassroots, Spanish anarchists had succeeded in launching remarkable and unprecedented widespread egalitarian and communitarian efforts in industrial, agricultural, educational and other realms, especially in areas of their greatest strength—Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia.

A deeper issue of collaboration in this volume is concerned with to what extent and at what price could the anarchist movement reciprocate against repression and social oppression with violent retaliation, resistance and revolution of its own. In the face of assassinations and imprisonment of anarchists and state repression of various forms of anarchist expression, the growing polarization between non-violent (such as education, publishing, strikes and demonstrations) and violent alternatives was a continuing reality of the movement in the 1920s and 1930s.

It culminated in anarchists' determined reaction with arms to the fascist insurrection in July 1936. As influential militant Diego Abad de Santillan later stated, "We knew that victory in the revolution was not possible without vic-

tory in the war and for the war's sake we sacrificed everything. We even sacrificed the revolution itself, not realizing that this sacrifice also implied the sacrifice of our war aims."

As Ealham emphasizes, Peirats' history has been an essential starting place for understanding the Spanish Civil War and Revolution, from the time

of its first publication to the present.

In my view, it also provides a broad introduction to essential traits, dynamics, issues, and dilemmas of the anarchist movement generally.

This new North American edition gives access to a new generation and a new community of readers and well serves Peirats' original intent. **FE**

David Porter is a retired SUNY professor of history and political science and the editor of *Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution*. He is the translator and author of *Eyes to the South: French Anarchists and Algeria*, a grassroots history of the past six decades of Algerian history from the perspectives of the French anarchist movement, released by AK Press in November 2011.

Books that should have been reviewed in this issue

Most publications receive more books for review than they can possibly do. What's needed is an *Anarchist Review of Books* [now, there's a project waiting to happen]. We are often disappointed, to say nothing of the authors, when we cannot find reviewers for excellent titles that are sent to us.

Here are a selection of books we've gotten recently, and this isn't a complete list.

Venezuela: Revolution as Spectacle by Rafael Uzcatagui, translated by Chaz Bufo, See Sharp Press, 2011, 224pp., \$16.95, seesharppress.com. Uzcatagui is the editor of the Caracas-based, *El Libertario*, is a sharp critic of Chavismo. Walker Lane quotes him extensively in his articles about Venezuela in the *Fifth Estate*.

Conspiracy to Riot in Furtherance of Terrorism: The Collective Autobiography of the RNC 8, edited by Leslie James Pickering, forward by Tom Hayden, Arissa Media Group, 2011, 416pp., \$14.95, arissa.org. Eight anarchists and activists describe their victory over the state of Minnesota in its attempt to criminalize dissent at the 2008 Republican National Convention.

The Unbearables Big Book of Sex, several editors, including Fifth Estate writer, Jim Feast, Autonomedia/Unbearables, 2011, 640pp., \$18.95, autonomedia.org. As the title suggests, sex is examined from the salacious to the scholarly. Several Fifth Estate writers appear in the pages including Walker Lane on Wilhelm Reich,

and Peter Lamborn Wilson.

Debt: The First 5,000 Years, David Graeber, Melville House Publishing, 2011, 532pp., \$32, mhpbooks.com. Graeber, bounced from his teaching position

at Yale for his anarchist beliefs, has been called Occupy Wall Street's most articulate voice although he would probably be the first to deny this. *Debt* lays out that it's the rich that loans and the poor who pay, and the struggle it always entails.

I've been livin' on gravel roads since 1978. These days I'm hunkered down on a Socialist commune in a white oak forest in central VA. I've been an anarcho-socialist pagan since before I could even spell those words, and I intend to dance the rest of my life to those same drumbeats. For me, it's not so much the people who draw me to a place..... but rather the norms they live by... shared income, organic gardening, non-violence and a willingness to tolerate old hippie pot heads.

I guess it all comes down to back-country livin'... with its bird songs, open pastures, trees that let me breathe, and yes, even muddy roads and floody rivers and folks who honor the earth and help to keep the dreams alive.

Viva Appalachia!

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